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COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS, A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING.

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THIS COURSE WAS DEVELOPED AS PART OF AN INTEGRATED AND SEQUENTIAL, HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR ABLE STUDENTS (UPPER 25 PERCENT). THE COURSE CONSISTS OF 9 UNITS OF STUDY, EACH UNIT CONTAINING A BRIEF STATEMENT OF A POLITICAL ISSUE AND SEVERAL READINGS ON THAT ISSUE. SOME ISSUES COVERED ARE (1) POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES, (2) ATTRIBUTES OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS, (3) GAINING AND MAINTAINING POLITICAL SUPPORT IN RUSSIA (U.S.S.R.) AND IN AMERICA, (4) CONTROLLING POLITICAL LEADERS IN RUSSIA (U.S.S.R.) AND IN AMERICA, (5) DECISION-MAKING, AND (6) ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN. THE COURSE DIFFERS FROM THE USUAL CIVICS COURSE IN (1) SUBJECT COVERAGE, (2) CLASS MEETINGS, (3) TYPE OF READING MATERIAL, (4) SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES, (5) USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGY, (6) APPROACH TO TEACHING, AND (7) EXAMINATIONS. THE COURSE IS DESIGNED TO PRECEDE "COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS" (ED 010 316), THE SECOND COURSE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A 4-YEAR SEQUENCE. A TEACHER'S MANUAL IS INCLUDED. (RS)

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COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Student Readings & Teacher's Manual

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COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

COMPILED BY THE

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTER
PROJECT SOCIAL STUDIES

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

AND

THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The curriculum materials in this volume were developed in a Center supported through the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

A Note to the Public Domain Edition

This one-semester course in Comparative Political Systems was developed at the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology under a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Intended for the first semester of ninth grade, it is part of an integrated and sequential four-year high school curriculum for able students, the top quarter of a typical high school class. Experiments with these materials with average high school seniors indicate, however, that the course teaches very well to this quite different audience.

These materials and the teaching strategies which are developed in the accompanying Teacher's Manual were originally compiled during the summer of 1963 and tried in five high schools that fall. They were completely rewritten during the spring and summer of 1964 and tried again beginning in September, 1964. This second trial revealed a number of shortcomings which we have not been able to correct because we have no funds to finance a third version. This Note explains briefly what we believe to be the major faults of the material. A similar analysis will accompany each of the courses we release.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has decided to release materials developed under its auspices into the public domain. This policy in no sense indicates endorsement from HEW. Officials there have examined our work only to determine whether or not we have met the terms of our contract. Permission to release implies only performance; it does not imply either approval or disapproval by HEW of the subject emphases or teaching strategies developed.

Legally all the material developed in the Center under this contract now becomes public property. It may be reproduced in any form by anyone for any use but it cannot be copyrighted. The reader will notice, however, that a large number of articles used in the course have not been included in this version. These articles were originally published elsewhere and were adopted, sometimes in edited form, with permission of the author or publisher for use only in an experimental edition. The original copyright taken out by the authors and editors remains in force. We cannot give permission to reproduce this material nor can we reproduce it ourselves for the Public Domain version. In order to make this version as useful as possible for teachers and curriculum experts, we have indicated briefly the content of each copyrighted article and we have given full bibliographic references so that others may read the material in full.

The purpose of an experimental program is to discover the weaknesses of new instructional materials as well as to find their strengths. On the whole, the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology has found Comparative Political Systems to be superior to existing "civics" programs. Test results have shown that the students who have taken the course as well as the one-semester course in Comparative Economic Systems have scored as high on standard Civics tests as a matched group of students who took a traditional Civics course. At the same time, the students in the experimental program seem to have mastered the mode of inquiry skills which are an additional objective of the program.

This report is not intended to dwell upon the successes of Comparative Political Systems, however, but to summarize the deficiencies that the staff of the Social Studies Curriculum Center has found in the materials produced for the course. A similar brief analysis in the Teacher's Manual summarizes its weaknesses.

As we experimented with a structural study of politics, we failed to develop satisfactory methods of analyzing the institutional aspects of government. Institutional analysis has been introduced into the course only insofar as it helps explain political behavior. For example, the electoral college is examined only in the light of the way in which it influences campaign tactics. We believe, therefore, that one of the major deficiencies of Comparative Political Systems is the inadequate treatment of institutions.

Secondly, we have failed to give adequate attention to the basic documents of the regimes under study. Nowhere in Comparative Political Systems does the Constitution or the Bill of Rights appear. This deficiency is all the more marked because of the course's emphasis on the ideological underpinnings of government. We believe that an adequate comparative study of government must include a study of the respective constitutions of the regimes in order to understand not only the ideological context of the governments, but the legal-institutional context as well.

We also failed to develop the concept of "power" as clearly as we should have. Though the study of leadership and decision making imply the study of power, nowhere in the course is the concept of power defined precisely or studied as a separate entity. Our experience in teaching this course indicates that students do not grasp the concept of power well enough to use it as an analytical tool.

As for the pedagogical aspects of Comparative Political Systems, we have found the vocabulary of several of the readings too difficult for even able ninth graders. In addition, the questions that follow the introductions are too often narrow in scope and too frequently demand recall rather than thought in forming answers. Quite often these questions merely ask for a restatement of the information contained in the reading rather than an analysis of the material or a judgment about it. We find this deficiency particularly acute since one of the objectives of our program is to develop the cognitive skills of the students who take it. We hope that students will learn to read critically and analytically as a result of having taken Comparative Political Systems, but the questions we have asked have too often failed to encourage this result.

We hope that this public domain version of our work proves fruitful to teachers everywhere. We will welcome comments derived from your experiences with it. We hope that a number of teachers, writers and publishers will develop their own versions of this course for commercial sale. Only through commercial production can these materials make their way into classrooms across the nation.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

AN EXPLANATION OF THE COURSE FOR PARENTS AND STUDENTS

This one-semester course in Comparative Political Systems marks the first step in the development of a new four-year sequence of courses for able students in the social studies. It will be followed during the second semester by a course entitled Comparative Economic Systems. Written cooperatively by teams of teachers from the Pittsburgh Public Schools and professors from Pittsburgh colleges, these courses were tried out and revised during the 1963-1964 academic year in five Pittsburgh high schools. During the second year of the project, students will use the revised materials and will participate in a testing program designed to compare the new courses with conventional civics.

A grant of $250,000 to Carnegie Institute of Technology from the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare supports the entire four-year project. The Pittsburgh Public Schools and Tech are partners. One of the two co-directors, Mr. John Good,is a full-time Pittsburgh teacher who has been loaned to the project for a four-year period. His co-director from Tech, similarly on loan to the project, is Professor Edwin Fenton.

Teacher-scholars from the universities and the public schools have long been concerned with the quality of much of the material published for use in high school social studies courses. Reform of the curriculum in mathematics, the sciences, foreign languages and English has been taking place at an increasingly rapid rate during the last ten years. In the fall of 1962 the Cooperative Research Branch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced that money had been made available by the Congress to establish Curriculum Development Centers for the Social Studies.

Carnegie Tech, which has for the past five years worked very closely with the Pittsburgh Public Schools in a program to introduce college level courses in history and English to the high schools, applied for a grant with the full approval and complete cooperation of officials of the Pittsburgh Public Schools. Tech and the schools developed their proposal together. They have designed the present project, established its goals, and retained the personnel. Our schools and our students have the unique advantage of participating in the development of new materials and new ways of teaching under the direction of a distinguished group of teacher-scholars including social scientists and historians from Carnegie Tech, Chatham College, the University of Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Public Schools.

This course differs from the usual civics course taught to ninth graders in the social studies in a number of ways:

1. Subject coverage: Although the subjects to be covered in this ninth grade course--government and economics--are also studied in civics, the emphasis will be different. We will study governments and economic systems other than our own to a much greater degree than is usual, and we will omit some material--such as the study of career opportunities--which is often covered in civics courses.

2. Class meetings: Formal classes will meet only four days a week. On the fifth day students will come to their classroom where they will read or study while their teacher meets with committees working on projects or gives individual help to students.

3. Type of required reading material: Instead of a conventional textbook, this course will use as its major reading material about seventy readings each designed for one day's lesson and written especially for this course. Each reading contains an introduction to place the article assigned for that day in its proper setting in the course, a few study questions as a guide to students, and a short article. About half the articles have been written especially for this project. The other half have been excerpted and edited from material which has already been published. Lessons based on this material should take about thirty minutes for the student to prepare before coming to class.

4. Supplementary reading material: We have placed a number of books of supplementary readings in the school library. Each student will be supplied with a guide to this material. The guide will list each article from the various books by author and title, describe the contents of the article, and contain a question about it. Students may choose any articles or books which they wish to read from this list. Each Monday they will be expected to turn in an account of what they have read during the previous week. Usually this account will consist of a one-paragraph answer to the question on the reading list.

   Students are expected to spend about one hour a week on this supplementary reading. They will be given class time on Friday for this work, so that the supplementary reading done outside of class should never require more than fifteen to thirty minutes each week.

5. Use of new technology: We have prepared a large quantity of material to be used with the overhead projector, and a number of tapes for the tape recorder. A few films and a little programmed material will be used.

6. Approach to teaching: On the whole, the course will be taught inductively. Students will be expected to come to their own conclusions from the material presented and they will be required to fit material from successive lessons together. They will have frequent opportunities to study the techniques of social scientists through the readings, many of which have been specifically designed to emphasize method. This entire approach to learning is based on well-founded psychological principles supported by abundant research data.

7. **Examinations and papers:** Students will be given a short examination every week. We will alternate essay exams and objective exams. Exams will last about twenty minutes each.

8. **Grades:** Grades will be based upon examinations, papers, class recitation, oral reports, and the paragraphs submitted about supplementary reading. Since only able students have been admitted to the course, we expect most of them to earn A or B on their report cards.

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

The required reading in Comparative Political Systems consists of about sixty articles which have been edited from published works or written especially for this course. All of these articles follow a common pattern:

1. The introduction. Each introduction relates the reading to other readings in the course and supplies essential background information.
2. Study questions. A few study questions with each lesson bring out the most important points of the reading so that students can think about them in preparation for class discussion.
3. The article itself. Each article is an essay which contributes a few major ideas about a subject.

You are expected to read each day's lesson and to take notes on the reading before you come to class. Since your teacher will distribute dittoed material from time to time, you ought to get a three-ring looseleaf notebook which can hold both the material which will be distributed and your homework and classroom notes.

Notetaking is a vital skill. We suggest that you read and take notes each evening in the following manner:

1. Write the lesson number and the title of the reading at the top of a piece of paper.
2. Skim the entire reading. Read the first sentence in each paragraph of the introduction. Next read the study questions and get them fixed in your mind. Finally read the first sentence in each paragraph of the article itself. When you have finished, try to state in your own words what the lesson for the day is all about. Skimming such as this should never take longer than two or three minutes.
3. Read the introduction and take running notes. Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Write down the major ideas from the introduction and any supporting evidence which seems particularly important. You need not use complete sentences, but remember that you may wish to study from the notes some months later, so take down enough information to make notes meaningful.
4. Read the article carefully and take running notes. Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Take the same sort of notes which you took for the introduction. Put any conclusions you draw in parentheses to show that they are your own ideas.

5. Go over your notes, underlining key ideas or words. This procedure is the best way to begin learning the information in the lesson.

6. Try to answer the study questions. When you have finished studying your notes, try to answer the study questions for yourself. Do not write out the answers to the study questions. You would only be repeating the information in your notes if you do this. Use this step to see whether or not you got the important points from the reading in preparation for class discussion.

Two other study techniques will be useful. First, keep a vocabulary list in which you enter all new words and their definitions. Second, keep your class notes and your reading notes on a lesson together in your notebook so that you can review for tests without flipping through a mass of paper to find material which goes together.

Your teacher will help you if you have trouble with this notetaking technique. Because some lessons are based upon material presented in charts or talks, the technique for taking notes which we suggest here cannot always be used. In cases like this, your teacher will give you supplementary instructions. In addition, he will spend time in class occasionally to demonstrate good notetaking techniques and will criticize your notes in an individual conference if you request one. Do not hesitate to ask for help.

UNIT I: INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

STATING THE ISSUE

Every society has some form of government. Governments develop naturally whenever people live in groups. They have a number of functions. They settle conflicts which arise among people in the same group. They provide services to the community, such as protection from fires, which individuals cannot provide for themselves. They also protect a group or a nation from its external enemies. All of us can think of a number of additional things which government does.

What should be the proper function of government and what should be left to the individual? This question has always concerned mankind. As society becomes more complex, the activities of government seem to grow. Traffic laws, once few in number and simple to understand, are now numerous and complicated. But the essential question remains: which areas of life should government control? Many of our treasured freedoms depend upon the way we answer this question.

Many forms of government have appeared in the past. Some have been dictatorships in which one man has ruled. Others have been organized as oligarchies in which a group of men held power. Still others have been ruled democratically. The institutions of government have been equally varied. Parliament, Congress, the King's Council, and the Supreme Soviet are all names of governmental institutions. Government is of endless variety.

Despite their differences, governments at all times and in all places have faced similar political problems. Rather than organize their course around the various forms which governments have taken, we have chosen to structure it around three of these universal problems: the recruitment, training, and functions of political leaders; the procedure for making and carrying out political decisions; and the role of the individual citizen.

We will concentrate our attention upon three types of governments: a modern democracy, a modern totalitarianism, and a primitive government typical of non-literate societies. As we study these three types of political systems, we will raise questions and develop methods of analysis which can be applied to other types of governments. In this way every student will develop tools of analysis which should help to make him a good independent thinker.

The first three lessons in this course examine political leadership, decision-making and the role of the individual in a World War II prisoner of war camp. How did the 160 American prisoners decide who their leader would be? How did they make decisions? What was the role of the individual citizen? These are the questions with which we begin this course.

READING I

LEADERSHIP IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

Leadership plays a vital role in every political system. Whether the leader is a dictator who has seized and maintained power by force or a democratically elected official subject to the will of the electorate, the basic problem remains the same: all governments require political leaders. Each society must develop ways to recruit and train these leaders. Everywhere leaders must win and maintain support for they cannot lead if no one will follow. Leaders must communicate with citizens and be responsive to their wishes; no leader however strong can afford to antagonize continuously those whom he leads.

What are the attributes (personal characteristics) of political leaders? How are leaders different from those they lead? Are the characteristics of leaders in all societies the same, or do leaders differ from one society to another? Social scientists who study political systems frequently ask questions such as these.

Learning to ask questions will be one of the most important objectives of this course. Learning becomes sterile when it consists only of committing to memory a large amount of factual information. Many studies indicate that students rapidly forget most of the facts they have learned unless the facts are organized in such a way that one reminds a person of another. Good questions often provide the framework on which we can build our factual knowledge. More important, questions provide a technique for studying new bodies of information. If a student knows what questions are vital to the study of one society's political system, he will ask them of another. Asking these questions will often help to make facts meaningful.

For tomorrow you are to read Part I of a short essay which describes the political system in an American prisoner of war camp in Stoerpenberg, Germany. As you read, think about the answers to the following questions:

1. How were the leaders in the POW camp recruited? That is, how did the men persuade some of their fellows to "go into politics"? Was this process of recruiting leaders different from the one which now exists for American government?

2. What were the leaders like? What were their backgrounds and their most important character traits?

3. What formal governmental process was set up? How were "laws" made and carried out? What role did the leaders play in the process of lawmaking?

4. How did leaders and followers communicate with each other?

STOERPENBERG CAMP (PART I)*

There were a hundred and sixty of them. They had been counted by the Germans and the count had been checked. They moved about the building peering out the windows at the drab winter landscape, or sat around the tables, now and then dropping down on a bunk, hands under head, to lie staring at the ceiling. One hundred and sixty American prisoners of war, who had been captured in the Battle of the Bulge two months ago, were now organized as a Prisoner of War labor unit at Stoerpenberg, somewhere in western Germany.

During the first two days they had nothing to do but lie on their beds and wait to be fed. As men drifted from one bunk to another, they began to talk about their situation. They discovered that they were all privates who had been in combat units of one kind or another. They represented a fair cross-section of the United States with men from every region of the nation included. Some of the men who had been able to talk to the guards had discovered that the camp was at the edge of a large town. The prisoners were to be used as laborers in nearby fields or for general utility work about the town.

The prisoners were housed in a gymnasium that had been part of a group of factory buildings. It evidently had been used as a workers' recreation center. At one end of the building a few tumbling mats and gymnastic bars were all that remained of the building's former equipment. An aisle formed by two rows of tables ran down the center of the building. Behind the tables, on each side were rows of double-decked bunks, while at the far end of the gymnasium three rooms were partitioned off from the central part. The center room was fitted with washing troughs; to the north was a storage room, and to the south a lavatory. At this end of the building on the outside lay a long narrow plot of ground used as an exercise yard for the prisoners. Within the building and the exercise yard the American prisoners formed a little society of their own.

By the second day the men had picked out bunks and taken regular places at the tables. There were ten tables, so sixteen men were grouped at each. Men who had known each other before they were captured tended to cluster together. None of the men could have known anyone else in the group for more than two months, but under the circumstances, any familiar face was a welcome sight. A few men who had not yet made friends tended to drift to the table closest to their bunk.

On the third day the German officer in charge told the prisoners to choose a group leader. This leader would pass on to the group the regulations and orders of the German officers and would be responsible for carrying out rules for health and sanitation made by the prisoners.

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* Adapted from "Stoerpenberg Camp," an unpublished case study of the Human Relations Department of the University of Kansas with permission of the department.

After the interpreter told the prisoners this, they began to discuss the matter among themselves. They were seated around the tables where there was enough space for two or three of them to get together. They decided to hold an election. Very shortly men began to move from table to table campaigning for their favorite. Finally a few men were selected as candidates. Votes were taken by a show of hands. If a proposed candidate seemed to have a fairly large number of people behind him he was considered in the running, and if not, his name was dropped. The choice soon narrowed down to a few men. Each man was presented to the group by his backers who made campaign speeches in his favor. After the speeches were finished, a final vote was taken by a show of hands. The choice was George Kent, a man of good physical appearance, who had demonstrated a commanding personality and superior social presence during the election of the leader. A college graduate, Kent had at one time been an acting sergeant, and had distinguished himself in battle.

Kent immediately brought up the vital matter of how food was to be distributed. In a prisoner of war camp with limited rations, food was of vital importance to everyone and was without doubt the subject most constantly on every prisoner's mind. Kent suggested that the entire ration of food should be divided into ten parts, one for each table, and then distributed at the tables to the men. In order to supervise this final distribution of food, he suggested that each table elect a table leader to take charge. The men quickly responded to this suggestion. Gathered around the tables, they talked informally, and finally each table chose its representative. The men who were finally chosen as leaders had a few characteristics in common. Several were college graduates and the remainder all had finished high school. A number of them had acted as non-commissioned officers at one time or another. Every one of them was a good talker who could communicate well with his fellows.

Shortly after the table leaders were chosen, several of them suggested to Kent that they set up a council to govern the unit. Kent agreed. In the following weeks the council met regularly. It consisted of Kent and the ten table leaders. At each meeting Kent passed on orders and information from the German administration of the camp so that the table leaders could inform the men in their group. The members of the council also discussed living arrangements, such as the choice of bunks, and made assignments to clean-up details.

If a man felt that he had a legitimate "gripe" he complained to his table leader. If the table leader was unable to settle the matter on the spot, he would bring it before the council at the next meeting. Most matters brought up in this way were settled at the council, but when a new problem seemed to be particularly important, it was referred to the tables for discussion and a referendum. Through this procedure the men were able to make rules by which they could govern themselves.

READING II

INTRODUCTION: DECISION-MAKING IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

Government exists to make decisions about matters of vital concern to the people of a society. The government of your family decides how to spend your father's paycheck. The leaders of the family--your parents--probably make this decision without asking your advice, but they may consult you about other matters, particularly those in which you are most actively involved, such as the amount of time to be spent on homework.

Societies more complicated than the family organize elaborate institutions to make decisions. Our President, Congress and court system compose an enormously complicated decision-making process involving elections, political parties, and many other similar institutions. Learning about how decisions are made in the national political arena will occupy several weeks of our time later in the course.

Today we shall deal with a much simpler matter--the way in which political decisions were made in Stoerpenberg Camp. To make these decisions, the prisoners set up simple political institutions, as our reading yesterday revealed. They had a leader, ten table leaders organized as a council, and 160 voters. They did not try to set up an executive (President), Legislature (Congress) and Judiciary (courts) because their society was so simple that one set of institutions and people could perform all three of these tasks. The leader and the table leaders passed laws, subject to referendum by the voters (the legislative function), carried out laws (the executive function) and interpreted laws by applying them to specific cases (the judicial function).

Studying the manner in which decisions were reached in the camp may reveal to us some interesting questions worth exploring when we investigate more complex political systems. The purpose of today's assignment is to raise some of these questions. Think about them as you read.

1. Who took initiative to bring up suggestions for laws in the camp? Can people who have parallel positions in American society take similar action?
2. Who decided whether or not a question brought up for discussion was worth taking to a referendum? Could these people control what was discussed? Does every suggestion from a voter reach the floor of Congress?
3. How were laws made? How were they carried out?
4. What happened when a man broke the unwritten code? What role did Kent play in this incident? What did it reveal about who really had power in the society? Does our President have a similar position?

STOERPENBERG CAMP (PART TWO)

In a few weeks the camp was functioning very effectively. The men were organized into compact units. The routine of their lives had been worked out with each man having certain duties to perform in a regular rotation for the benefit of all. Behind this formal organization was the code of the group. The code was not formal--no one had written it down or made speeches about it--yet everyone knew what it was and lived by it, or knew what to expect if he did not.

The first and most important rule of this informal code was that no prisoner would steal from another, particularly that he would not steal food or tobacco. Stealing from the Germans was quite all right as long as a prisoner did not get caught. If he were caught, the prisoner's duty was clear--to identify himself as the sole participant and to bear the brunt of German displeasure. There were a few other important parts of the code. Everyone was expected to keep as clean as possible, although keeping clean required a great deal of effort. As to the work being done for the Germans, it was quite all right to do as little as possible as long as a prisoner did not get caught.

Within two weeks after the 160 prisoners had been thrown together in the gymnasium at Stoerpenberg, they had developed a small but complete society. They had organized a government; they had made some laws; they had worked out an economic organization to distribute food; they had built up a social structure; and they had accepted an informal code which everyone obeyed.

In the third week of March, 1945, as the result of an incident among the members of Table Five, the leaders of the work unit suddenly found themselves with a difficult problem. One of the men at the table was accused of stealing food and the uproar over it threatened to break up the society. One of the members of Table Five was a man named Court. From the very first Ainslee, the table leader of Number Five, had been aware that Court did not fit into any of the informal groups at the table, nor did he seem to have friends at any of the other tables. His manner was listless and apathetic. He seemed withdrawn from the life about him and his reactions seemed rather slow and confused when any situation arose that required him to participate in some activity. His personal habits were very lax to the point that he was filthy, even though a room for washing was available. Ainslee thought that Court was mentally ill or had suffered some intense experience during his capture.

Whatever the reasons, Court was one of the few men who did not actively participate in the life of the group. His sole interest was food. Soon he began to save the bread from his daily rations. Each day he added another small portion to his store. He concealed the chunks of bread about his clothing and bunk. Court was very suspicious of his fellow prisoners and spent much of his free time carefully checking his hoard. By the middle of March much of the bread he had managed to save was stale and unpalatable. He was not seen to eat any of it, but he seemed to get satisfaction from handling it and knowing that it was there when he wanted to look at it.

Bartrum, a tall, heavy man from Table Five, had been observing Court's behavior carefully. In casual conversations with others, he pointed out the futility of Court's actions. Many others agreed with him and, because food was so scarce, some felt that it was wrong for one man to waste what could be used so well by others.

Each evening the men of the work unit stood in the aisle to be counted by one of the German non-commissioned officers. Late in March Bartrum was late to formation. Immediately after the men were dismissed, he returned quietly to his bunk. A short time later the men around Table Five were startled by hoarse cries. Court was moving around and around his bunk, searching here and there, uttering moans and weeping. Ainslee and several others moved quickly over to Court to discover that much of his hoard of bread had been stolen. In a few minutes a large crowd had collected about Court's bunk. The news of his loss passed quickly among them. The low hum of many voices began to comment on the fact that Bartrum had been late to head count. The men began to suspect that he was the thief.

Ainslee had decided to go to Kent to organize a search among the members of the group when a few of the men walked over to Bartrum's bunk and began looking around. Bartrum protested when suddenly one of the men found a chunk of bread tucked away at one end of the bunk. He shouted aloud and turned upon Bartrum. A thick knot of men rapidly swirled about him, cursing, shouting and striking at him. Bartrum attempted to fight clear, stammering incoherently, as more and more men joined the melee. The room was filled with uproar which spread rapidly until every man in the room was involved.

Kent, the group leader, quickly caught the significance of the cries of the outraged men around Bartrum and realized that if he did not act quickly Bartrum might be killed. Throwing himself into the crowd, he fought his way to Bartrum. Seizing him by the collar, Kent managed to get on top of a table where he could be seen above the mob, still holding Bartrum firmly. At first he could not make himself heard, but as more and more of the men saw who it was that held Bartrum, they became more quiet. Taking a deep breath Kent tried again, "Okay," he said, "I hate the --- as much as you do, but this isn't the way to do it." Howls of protest greeted his statement but Kent kept on talking, arguing that Bartrum must be handled by regular procedure and not by a mob. Meanwhile several of the table leaders had fought their way to Kent and now began to ring about him. Slowly the protests began to lessen. Kent bore down on the fact that the group would have its chance to take action after the council had tried Bartrum. As the crowd became quieter, Kent felt that the immediate danger was over. Calling to the table leaders to come with him, he jumped down from the table and, holding tightly to Bartrum, pushed his way through the men. They let him pass. The leaders walked with Kent and Bartrum to the end of the room. Here on the old tumbling mats they sat down to consider what they should do.

Bartrum's trial was conducted with some formality. Kent presided and asked most of the questions. Bartrum began by denying the theft but soon admitted his guilt, justifying himself by saying that the bread was being wasted and should do someone some good. He surprised the council by saying that he was ready to accept any punishment that seemed fitting.

The council, after some deliberation, passed sentence on Bartrum. First, they placed him in isolation for a month; no one was to speak to him or have anything to do with him at all. Second, during this same month he was assigned to do two hours of additional work in the barracks each night after the work unit had returned from the fields. Finally, he was to replace from his own bread ration an amount equal to the bread he had stolen.

After passing the sentence, the table leaders returned to their tables and consulted their men. In general, most of the men seemed satisfied and only a few felt that the sentence was too light. After each table had voted to accept the decision, the leaders returned to Kent and informed him of the results. Kent then sent Bartrum back to his bunk with a stern reminder that if he did not carry out his sentence properly the next action would be very severe.

During the following two weeks, Bartrum was cut off from his fellow prisoners. No one spoke to him. Each evening he put in his two hours of extra labor. Each day he turned over part of his bread ration to Court who either ate it or stored it away with the rest of his hoard. Ainslee supervised the return of the stolen rations and kept an accurate day-by-day record. He appointed a different man each day to make sure that Bartrum worked steadily during his extra hours in the evening. By refusing to have anything to do with Bartrum, every member of the group helped to enforce the rest of the sentence.

Note:

Two weeks after the sentence began, the gymnasium was hit by a bomb during an Allied air attack. The Germans then bundled the American prisoners into small groups to distribute them among a number of other work camps. The society which they had formed came to an end. Most of the prisoners never saw each other again.

READING III

INTRODUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

During the last two days we have investigated two parts of the political system set up by American prisoners in Stoerpenberg Camp. First we studied the leaders of the political system to find out about their backgrounds and their character traits. Then we investigated the process of making political decisions in the camp. We discussed three major issues: who took initiative to bring up suggestions for laws, who decided whether or not a suggestion was worth discussing, and how the laws were made and carried out. Today's lesson concludes our study of the society in Stoerpenberg.

What a person learns from a reading depends in part upon the questions he has in his mind as he reads. You have already read the Stoerpenberg article to learn about leadership and decision-making in the camp. Today we are asking you to read the entire article--Parts I and II again--this time with a new set of objectives in your mind. We would like you to investigate the role of individuals in this society. Information about this topic can be found throughout readings I and II. Do not, of course, read the two introductions again.

In American society political activity occupies a comparatively small amount of time of a typical citizen. Occupied with a job, a family, a group of friends and innumerable opportunities to go to movies, watch television, attend baseball games or listen to a symphony orchestra, the attention of American citizens is often focused on these activities instead of on politics. Any American who considers entering politics must recognize that his time is a scarce resource which he must spend very carefully, dividing it among numerous activities. But time was not so scarce a resource in Stoerpenberg Camp. The prisoners there had little to do except work for part of the day in the fields and run their own society during their off-duty hours. This helped to make the nature of their political system quite different from ours. It particularly affected the role of the individual in politics.

Moreover, politics in Stoerpenberg Camp was concerned with matters essential to the life of every prisoner. Whether or not food was distributed fairly was influenced by the political system. Whether his quarters were kept clean and whether the rules established by the group were obeyed were all intimately connected to politics. This close relationship between the political system and the most important parts of a prisoner's daily life is quite different from the relationship between politics and everyday living in our own society. Hence, politics became more important to the prisoners than it sometimes is to us. Certainly, no one in the Camp would be offended if a man became deeply involved in political activity.

A number of other factors made political life in the Camp quite different from what it is in present-day American society. For example, all the prisoners had complete information about every political issue. They knew that their fellow citizens in the camp would be anxious to discuss political affairs and would work closely with them toward the solution of fundamental problems. Since the society was so small, every citizen had an opportunity to have his thoughts heard and his suggestions for laws considered by the council. Finally, the influence of an individual in the camp was limited only by his personality and by the way in which his ideas were received by his fellow citizens.

As you reread Part I and Part II of the Stoerpenberg Camp essay, think about the following specific questions:

1. How important was political activity to the lives of the Stoerpenberg prisoners?

2. Court was not involved to any great degree in the political activity of the camp. Did other prisoners notice this and seem to resent it? Would your conclusion be as true of an American citizen who was not involved deeply in political activities?

3. How did the prisoners get information about political matters? Is it as easy to get complete information in a modern urban industrial society?

UNIT II: THE POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

STATING THE ISSUE

During the past three days we have studied the political system of a prisoner of war camp. We focused our attention upon three aspects of this political system: who were the leaders; what were their attributes and how were they recruited; how were decisions made; and what was the role of the individual citizen? In Readings four through seven we are going to ask these same questions about the political systems of primitive societies.

To most of us the word primitive means non-civilized, non-complex or non-literate. This definition is not far from correct. Primitive groups are usually small in numbers, including only the members of a family or a band living in isolation. They have no written language, their technology is simple and they have relatively uncomplicated economic and political systems which do not involve elaborate institutions designed for choosing leaders or making laws.

Not all primitive societies, however, are as simple as this. Larger primitive groups do have political leaders; they do make and enforce laws; and they do make decisions which are binding upon the whole group as well as upon individuals within the group. The differences between very simple political systems, more complicated ones, and complicated organizations such as our own are not clearly marked. They are only matters of degree.

Throughout most of history, men lived under primitive political systems. Millions of people in the underdeveloped countries still live under them. As the technologies of these societies develop, the political systems must also change. If we are to understand the problems which accompany this change, we must understand the nature of primitive political systems. Hence our work in Readings four through seven will help us to understand both the history of ancient peoples and some of the problems of our own day. What is the nature of political leadership among primitive peoples? How do they make decisions? What is the role of the individual citizen? These are the issues we will study.

READING IV

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

In Reading IV we will examine the types of leaders that have developed in different types of primitive tribes. Anthropologists have identified four basic types of leaders among primitive people. These four types developed to meet the needs of people living in groups of different sizes and different degrees of complexity.

Almost every group has within it individuals who direct, advise and even control the other members of the group. In some situations, such as the play groups of children in our own society, the strongest or the most intelligent child will often emerge spontaneously as the leader. In other situations there will be fixed rules for gaining leadership. Leaders may be chosen by some authority such as a council of the wise men, or men may inherit positions of power because of their family. The type of person who is a leader in one situation may not be in another. Instead of becoming the head man, the strongest or the most intelligent person in a tribe may be the follower of a less gifted person who was born to the position of power if that society operates under a system of inherited leadership.

Let us think about other conditions that determine who will be the leader. In a very simple society, all men do approximately the same things and they have the same skills. Each member of the tribe is a hunter and a warrior and he knows how to make tools and build a house. No specialization of labor has developed. In this situation the man who can meet some pressing need better than his fellows becomes the leader of the group for the moment.

In a more complex society, however, specialization develops. Some men hunt or gather food; others become artisans; still others have other jobs within the society. In this situation, the man who can do a particularly important job well may become a leader because people look up to and depend upon him. Both the kind of society in which a man lives and his personality and ability help to determine whether or not he will become a leader.

Reading IV describes four types of leaders of primitive societies. The reading itself is followed by a number of case studies which will be used in class. Curious students may wish to read them as a part of their class preparation, but your teacher will give you time to read each one before the class discusses it. As you read the text which precedes these case studies, think about the following questions:

1. How are headmen, chiefs, hereditary monarchs and sacred chiefs or kings recruited?

2. What are their attributes (personal characteristics)?

TYPES OF PRIMITIVE POLITICAL LEADERS

We are going to examine four types of primitive political leaders. The societies of which they were a part vary from extremely simple to quite complex. Each type of leader fits within the framework of the society.

The Headman. The headman is the leader in very simple primitive societies. Headmen are the most primitive type of governmental leaders. Some people believe that primitive people are completely dominated by tyrants who do as they wish to those whose lives they control. This notion is not correct. Among the tribes of primitive hunters who still roam the earth, all the adult males participate in decision-making. Primitive societies composed of hunters are really quite democratic.

The headman is a natural-born leader. As an individual, he earns the confidence and support of his neighbors who select him informally because of his store of common sense, his popularity and his ability as a moderator in inter-tribal quarrels. Since he is not formally elected, his influence is quite informal; he is the first among equals and has power only by example and because he is respected.

A headman is expected to speak on all important occasions. He knows the best camp sites and knows how to settle quarrels, so his voice carries weight when the tribe moves from one place to another or when two members of the tribe are involved in a dispute. Men follow him because they like his personality and trust him. He holds the band together. The headman rarely has any clearly defined authority over the people he leads. In fact his job is so unclear that anthropologists have great difficulty describing it exactly. Yet he is the focal point for the entire group of people he leads. Familiar with the traditions, customs and rites of the group, he plays a major role at festivals and other ceremonial occasions. Other men defer to him and listen to his advice.

The Chieftain. Chiefs are the major political leaders in more complicated primitive political systems. These societies have a more complex social life. Responsibility for carrying out certain tasks such as raising food or providing shelter is delegated to specialists in these arts. Full scale states develop to hold together the families or tribes. A chief has more authority and greater status in his society than a headman has. Sometimes he even inherits his position from his father. The powers of a chief vary from one culture to another.

It was unusual among North American Indians for a chief to have great power. Many tribes even separated war chiefs from peace chiefs. Peace chiefs had the same functions as our civil governors. Often peace chiefs were the headsmen of bands who also held a position in a tribal council. Their main jobs were to supervise relationships among tribesmen and to help to settle court cases. Peace chiefs were chosen from among the wisest, most experienced, and best-liked members of the tribe.

War chiefs headed the military groups. They were men who had an outstanding war record. When a young warrior performed particularly well in battle, he was often made a war chief despite the fact that he was much younger than many of the men he would lead. Although war chiefs had great influence during periods of fighting, they had no more power than any other member of the tribe during periods of peace.

Some chiefs among primitive people are really not political leaders at all. They have different functions in the society. For example, some of them take charge of ceremonies. They have a high status in the tribe and people pay tribute to them. They use this tribute to put on ceremonial feasts which all the people attend. Chieftainship and political power are not necessarily the same.

Hereditary monarchies. In some advanced primitive societies leadership is inherited by a son from his father. This system makes the transfer of power flow smoothly from one generation to another and brings stability to the political structure.

Men like to gain political power. The prestige and rewards that go with a kingship are well worth the risks required to obtain one. For this reason, men fight to become king, and this fighting keeps society in disorder. Hereditary kingships stop this eternal battle for power. When lines of inheritance are clearly established, the succession to the throne is no longer a matter of controversy. Many men who succeed to power through inheritance, however, do not have the talent required to do the job well.

Hereditary kingship evolved over a long period of time. It seems to have developed quite naturally to meet the needs of societies and was not invented suddenly. Even among the American Indians the son of a chief had a greater chance for a chieftainship than a boy who came from a less important family. This tendency seems to indicate that primitive people tried to balance their need for central control with the democratic tendencies in their society.

Sacred chiefs and kings. When a man wields a warrior's sword in one hand and a magician's wand in the other he becomes a man to reckon with. Among primitive people, witchdoctors and priests are thought to have powers with which they can control the supernatural. Headmen, chiefs and kings are only specialists in controlling the actions of men. Primitive people generally believe that the actions of men are controlled by the supernatural. The two weapons reinforce each other. For this reason among primitive people, the priests and the political leaders often work closely together. Political leaders almost always have some degree of magical powers attributed to them. Law making, trials, and even decisions to go to war involve consulting the Gods.

In some agricultural societies where people depend on crops for their living, the chief of the tribe is often also the high priest in charge of cults for rain, fertility and good crops. He becomes responsible for keeping order in the society through the political-legal system, for the economic well-being of his people and for their religious security. These responsibilities all weigh heavily upon him.

* * * * *

CASES IN PRIMITIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

For each case, think about the following questions:

1. What type of primitive political leader is described here?

2. What gives him his power and position?

CASE I

Tselane has just made the arms of his enemy, Pfuna, limp and useless. He did this because Pfuna made a threat on his life and tried to touch his person as he walked through the village.

Tselane is never addressed directly. He has a special man who speaks for him and who listens for him as well. When we feast or have any ceremonies, Tselane sits on a special throne and is served first with the best food. He also eats some of the foods that we are forbidden to eat.

We are all afraid of Tselane because he seems to have special powers that none of us seem to possess. He has many men who serve as his council and they sit down on any of the village disputes. This council also legislates and passes down judgments upon individual and group matters. Tselane often joins in the decisions and always presides over the councils.

CASE II

Khruna is a kind of generous old man. He has outlived all the other men in our village. Many of our people think that he is the father of us all, although there are over seventy in number in the clan. He is wise in all things and all the men and women of the village seek his advice on such matters as family quarrels, stolen property, and the fair-play in the exchange of goods. He is still one of the most skillful in hunting and warefare and many of the younger men practice his walk and posture.

He knows all the stories and tales about our gods and heroes and they are eagerly sought after in our festivals. No one can match him in this. I hope that I can someday be like old Khruna--wise and all-knowing.

CASE III

We are a proud tribe. Our name is that of our God, the Eagle. We number in the several hundreds and we have several villages. We have many brothers and cousins in each of our villages, and we unite against our common enemy, the Chamali.

In our last raid on the Chamali, one of our best warriors, Silver Star, was very successful and gained a great deal of prestige. His name will be remembered by all our tribe. He led us on a successful war party and single-handed struck down the first three men in the course of our fighting. He captured the weapons of three of our enemy and drove off their horses into the prairie. According to our tribal customs, a man who achieves any of these deeds becomes a leader. If he further earns honors, he may become part of our council.

CASE IV

We are a small group and we are something like a family. Everyone in the village knows one another. We all live in a large building on the side of the river. One day when we were all working in the field gathering food, we were surprised by the neighboring village of the Kasai. Most of us escaped in the surrounding forest and only a few of us were killed. When the Kasai finally left we immediately sought out our best warrior, Jabu, and asked him to gather a few of the men of the village and lead them into a raid on the Kasai village. He gathered a few of his followers and decided to attack the Kasai while they were busy at their evening meal. The raid was successful for we killed three of their tribe. Jabu decided to follow this up with another raid early that morning when they were asleep. Again the raid was successful and a few more of the Kasai were slain.

Jabu later accepted an offer of peace from the leader of the Kasai when they each decided that future raids would not benefit either village. We all went back to work on the fields--even Jabu who had a cut on his shoulder from one of the raids.

CASE V

Bankull, one of our oldest and best warriors, was confronted with a quarrel between two of our clans. He had no power to judge or make a ruling on the situation. He could not command because he had no authority to do so, even though he knew that one of the clans was in the wrong. His position was to persuade each of them to stop their hostilities and restore peace. Each of us knew that he would be successful, for we are continually at war with the Silent People, and we cannot afford to fight among ourselves. We know that we must be as one to be successful against our enemy.

Bankull pleaded with the two leaders of each clan by saying,"It is bad, don't do it, we are one people; all our children are related to one another, don't do it." His persuasion finally brought about order in our tribe.

CASE VI

Jomo has a great deal of power and authority. He does not know how to use it. Here we are, a strong and able tribe that boasts some 50,000 peoples and 10,000 of them good warriors. And yet we are threatened by our neighboring enemies who see our weakness --Jomo! He is not a strong man and he does not make decisions very easily. He is too easily influenced by that evil and power-hungry cousin of his, Kali, who I'm sure has designs upon his position and who is less able than he is--but in a different way. We need a strong and able leader like Jomo's father. Oh heavens! Why did he die in our moment of greatest need and with only one son to carry on his work! The Gods must certainly be angry with us!

READING V

DECISION-MAKING AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

Every society must find ways to reach decisions that all members of the society must obey. In our society formal decisions like these are called laws. They establish rules--stop when a traffic light is red--which everyone is expected to follow. At the same time, societies must also reach decisions which apply to the behavior of single individuals. If Mr. Jones drives through a red light, a policeman may arrest him and he may be fined or have his license suspended. This decision is usually reached through a court trial and follows procedures which are established by law and custom.

Among the simplest primitive people, decision-making takes place in the family where it is shared by husband and wife. They decide when to move to another area where game or berries may be more plentiful and how to deal with the children. Most families, however, are linked to other families through ties of marriage, kinship or mutual affection. When several families linked like this live together, decision-making involves the entire group which gives authority to elders or places it in the hands of family leaders.

In complex societies such as our own, political decision-making usually involves a new law, a decision by the executive branch or a ruling by a court. We assume that if our present regulations are not satisfactory, the society should develop a new law through the legislature. This assumption is so much a part of our lives that we have difficulty imagining a society which does not make new laws frequently. Yet primitive people do not. They live out their lives according to the customs which they have inherited from their ancestors.

Primitive people usually maintain order through the force of public opinion. Fear of ridicule or of contempt and loss of prestige in the group are usually enough to control behavior of which the group does not approve. Men hesitate to break the rules because they do not want their fellows to make fun of them. In a society where courage in the face of the enemy is more important than anything else, a coward who fled in the face of enemy spears could not take the laughter which would greet his return to the campsite. In other primitive societies, men who break the laws are expelled for periods of time. In still others, individuals take the punishment of law-breakers into their own hands.

In class tomorrow we will listen to a tape describing the way in which a primitive people--the Cheyenne Indians--decided to make a new law. The cases in Reading V also illustrate decision-making in primitive societies. We will discuss both the tape and the cases in class. A few study questions precede each case.

A CHEYENNE INDIAN TRIBE DECIDES TO MAKE PEACE

The Cheyenne Indians who dominated so much of the warfare on the Great Plains in the nineteenth century had a government consisting mainly of two groups: the Council of Forty-Four composed of tribal chiefs and the military societies composed of proven warriors. The first was theoretically composed of civilian officials and the second, as its name implies, was organized for war. Yet they worked together to gain consent for an important decision. In the account of a decision to make peace which follows, pay attention to the following issues:

1. Young warriors would not want to make peace because they would not be able to make the raids from which they gained prestige if they were not at war. Given this situation, how did the Council of Forty-four get consent to their suggestion?
2. Did the Council give up its authority at any point? How diplomatically did it procede?

THE COUNCIL OF FORTY-FOUR *

From K. N. Lewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, THE CHEYENNE WAY: CONFLICT AND CASE LAW IN PRIMITIVE JURISPRUDENCE, (Norman, Oklahoma; University of Oklahoma Press: 1941), 91-93.

This selection is a case study which explains how the Cheyenne Indians decided to make peace with the Apaches. The matter was first deliberated by the council of chiefs. When they could not agree they asked the strongest military group in the tribe to advise them on what should be done. The leaders of the group were asked by their followers to make the decision themselves. They advised the council that peace should be declared, and the council agreed.

THE CHEYENNE PUNISH A MAN WHO BREAKS THE LAW

Most primitive people do not have special officials whose job it is to enforce the laws. There are no police, no secret service men and no FBI agents in primitive societies. In some primitive groups, individuals take it upon themselves to punish men who break customs. In others a group of men make sure that the law is kept. As you read the two cases which follow, pay attention to the following questions:

1. How did the group decide to punish a man accused of breaking the law?
2. Were formal institutions like a Congress or a court involved in these decisions?

THE MILITARY SOCIETIES*

From K. N. Lewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, THE CHEYENNE WAY: CONFLICT AND CASE LAW IN PRIMITIVE JURISPRUDENCE, (Norman Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press: 1941) 116-118.

This selection recounts three cases in which the Cheyennes decide on the guilt or innocence of a member of the tribe. In the first case, the offender makes no protest as a group of soldiers appear at his tipi, make a slash in it, and finally destroy it completely. Since the offender raised no protest, the tribe knew that he was guilty. In the second case the alleged defender protests that he is not guilty. Two chiefs search his tipi and, finding no evidence of his guilt, declare him innocent. In the third case when the offender is punished, his mother slashes the tent of the chief. The entire tribe goes out to destroy all the possessions of the family. When violence threatens to erupt, one of the chiefs decides that the family should not be harmed but be allowed to move out of the camp in exile.

READING VI

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Americans are accustomed to thinking of the development of the individual as the most important objective of their society. To us the individual is sacred. Our political system reflects this value. Every citizen has the right to vote and to run for office. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights protect the individual from government and from men who would take away his liberties. Major decisions, however, are usually made by elected officials over whom the individual citizen has comparatively little control.

Primitive societies are quite different. Simple political systems are truly democratic. In them each individual is sometimes involved in the decision-making process. There is little need for elected leaders; the individual makes most of the decisions on his own. In simple primitive societies, there are almost no formal political institutions such as the ones like the Congress to which we are accustomed.

As primitive societies become more complex, society makes more and more of the decisions rather than leave them to the individual. Officials or a group of people punish lawbreakers rather than let individuals do the punishing. More and more, ridicule or exile are used to force people to observe the customs. Moreover, the customs of primitive people govern far more of their behavior than do customs in our society. An individual violates one of these customs only at his peril.

In class tomorrow we will listen to and discuss a tape about the responsibility of the individual citizen to his group, in this case, Alaskan Indians. Reading VII raises some of the same issues. Written in the first person by Peter Abrahams, it describes life among tribesmen in Kenya and analyzes the difficulties which a westernized Kenyan, Jomo Kenyatta, had when he returned to tribal life. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What would Kenyatta have to do in order to attain a true position of leadership among the tribesmen? Would American politicians have to conform to American customs in a similar way?
2. How does the author describe tribal man? How is a tribal man supposed to behave? What does he owe to the other members of the tribe? To outsiders?
3. What seems to hold primitive people together? What happens if an individual disagrees about matters as fundamental as some of the ones described in this passage?

THE INDIVIDUAL IN AN AFRICAN TRIBE *

From Peter Abrahams, "Blacks," in HOLIDAY, XXV, 114-126 passim.

Abrahams explains what obligations members of the Masai tribe feel they have to their group. He indicates that the Masai are governed by the rules established by their ancestors. When a natural calamity hits the tribe, the members are convinced that one or more of the tribesmen have broken these rules. The Masai believe the ancestors must be appeased by ferreting out the offenders in a tribal ritual and punishing them. Abrahams further points out that obligations to family as established by the head of the household also dictate the obligations to the tribe.

READING VII

PRIMITIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS: CHECKING WHAT YOU KNOW

For the past three days you have been studying about primitive political systems. This is a very complicated subject. Whole courses are devoted to it in colleges and graduate schools. No one can expect to learn even the most essential information about politics among primitive people in only four days. But students can learn how to learn more about this topic in a minimum of time.

Today's reading is designed to help you learn whether you are beginning to know how to study primitive politics. It consists of two case studies of the political system of the Comanche Indians. The Comanches had a political system and a set of values very much like those of the Cheyenne. You have already studied Cheyenne politics in Reading V and in the tape entitled The Repentant Horse Thief.

A good social scientist must learn to ask appropriate questions about the material he is studying. Unless he asks questions, facts cannot fit together into a rational order which will help him to analyze problems. The study questions in Readings I through VI have been designed to help you pick out the issues which we thought were most important to help you understand the point of a reading. The ability to ask fruitful questions such as the ones in the previous readings is one of the signs of a trained social scientist.

You are to read the two passages below. On a sheet of notebook paper, write study questions for each passage. Do not write more than three questions per passage. Come to class prepared to indicate why you choose the questions you did.

THE MAKING OF A WAR CHIEF
INFORMANT: THAT'S IT

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. . . .

"A couple of nights later they set a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there he saw two tipis on theother side. He turned back and came zigzagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hill-top.

"The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight--like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches werecoming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, 'ahe!' The others came and took the scalps.

"It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a scalp dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they wanted. He gave them two horses.

"The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was a pause while the two lines stood facing each other.

"Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

"'Now,' said the youth to one of his followers, 'you do as I have just done.' Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing the Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them--like lightening. When his fighters saw his brave example they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while when the Comanches got tired they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

"The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. . . .

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

"The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'"

LAND DISPUTE

INFORMANT: EAGLE TAIL FEATHER

"When land allotments were made by the government, two neighbors quarrelled over a quarter section of land which both wanted. One of them succeeded in establishing his claim on the disputed land. The other protested the action and contested the claim. Feeling ran higher and higher over the matter until each was threatening to kill the other.

Quanah Parker, who was chief of the band at the time, was called upon to settle the dispute. He asked two warriors to testify as to the past war record of the disputants. Since one of the warriors was late in coming to report, Parker sent Eagle Tail Feather, then chief of the Indian police, to find him to hear what he had to say. Eagle Tail Feather took another warrior with him as witness. The first disputant also went in the party, thinking to gain an advantage by confronting the witness personally.

When the four men were assembled at the warrior-witness's house, this disputant spoke up, saying, "Which is better, I or this other fellow?"

"All right," said the warrior, "now that you've asked me, I'll speak out plain. That other one (the opponent in the case) is the better man. I was in a battle where I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade from the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed; you'd better look out or he'll whip you, or kill you."

These words silenced the claimant. He knew that he would lose the land unless he could speak up and tell of a braver deed which he had performed. This he could not do, so he remained speechless while the others waited for his words. When they were satisfied that his adversary was the braver man, Eagle Tail Feather and his aide returned to Quanah and told him what had ensued at the meeting.

Quanah decreed that the disputed quarter section should belong to the warrior who had made the rescue. The other released his claim to it without further word."

UNIT III: THE ATTRIBUTES OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS

STATING THE ISSUE

Our nation is a democracy, and in a democracy the people rule. Yet it is perfectly clear that some people in American society have more political influence than others. Voting is the only political activity of many Americans; in fact, some Americans even fail to cast their ballots. For other Americans, however, politics is a full-time activity. These people are our political leaders, our presidents, senators, and Supreme Court justices; our governors and state legislators; our mayors, councilmen and justices of the peace; our ward bosses, civil servants and precinct committeemen.

Leaders influence political decisions far more than ordinary Americans. The capacity to have a direct effect upon governmental decisions is called political power. The political leaders in a society are those who hold political power. As political leaders and holders of political power, they can affect the lives of millions of people each day. For this reason anyone who wishes to study politics or to vote intelligently in a democratic society needs to learn all that he can about political leadership.

Who are America's political leaders? How did they win their offices? How were they trained and recruited for their roles in the political arena? Do different political posts require different kinds of talent? From which occupational and social groups are most of our political leaders drawn? These are the questions we will try to answer in Readings eight through eleven.

READING VIII

SPECIALIZATION OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

How is our society different from the society of an Indian tribe such as the Comanche? Obviously we could list many differences, but all these differences might be summarized in one short statement: our society is highly complex while that of an Indian tribe is relatively simple.

If any society is to survive, certain tasks must always be done. Social scientists call these tasks "functions." Certain crucial functions (very important jobs) must be done in every society--no matter how simple or complex it is--if the society is to survive. Examples of such crucial functions are the production and distribution of food (economy), the training of the people in necessary skills (education), the maintenance of spiritual and psychological well-being (religion), and the maintenance of peace and order (government).

In the simplest societies, the persons and agencies in charge of these functions are undifferentiated; that is, one person or group directs many of these activities. For example, a tribal chief may sometimes head the government of his tribe, distribute food and land, perform religious ceremonies, and direct education as well. In a complex society, on the other hand, the performance of these tasks is highly differentiated. Government is conducted by one group of people, education by a second, and the religious life of the society by a third.

Moreover, in a society as complicated as ours, there is further differentiation within one function. Within the function of the economy, for example, a leader usually specializes, becoming a corporation executive, a foreman, a labor union official, a banker and so forth. This same idea applies to government. The best known example from our own government is its division into the legislative, executive and judicial branches, each of which has further internal divisions. In the case of the Comanche Indians, the existence of a peace chief and a war chief indicated the beginning of divisions within the political function. In general, we can see that as societies become more complex, they also become more differentiated; such societies also give rise to specialists within each of the various functions.

In the reading for today we will learn how political leadership has become specialized in the United States. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. Are the men who perform the political function in the United States clearly differentiated from those who perform other important social functions?

2. Is there specialization within the political leadership of th United States?

3. Does leadership in other social sectors overlap with political leadership? What are the implications of your answer?

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

Government is by far the biggest and the most complex single enterprise in the United States today. Government takes in and spends far more money, hires many more people and takes part in many more activities than any major corporation. For example, in a recent year the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, one of our largest corporations, employed 725,760 people and took in the sum of $9 billion. During this same period, the federal government employed 2,500,000 people and took in $103.8 billion. Even some of our state governments rival most of our largest businesses in size and complexity.

Modern business corporations have become enormously complicated. Some corporations are involved in dozens of different businesses at the same time. An automobile company may own iron mines or even a paper-box factory. Each of these businesses requires specially trained managers with an intimate knowledge of the affairs of that particular branch of the corporation. There are other ways in which corporation employees have become specialized. Many corporations have their own legal bureaus; they have experts in selling, experts in purchasing, experts in bookkeeping, experts in labor relations and even experts in medicine who watch over the health of their employees. Sheer size and the long years of training required for any specialized job in a complex economy such as ours have forced this sort of specialization upon corporations. The same factors--size and complexity--have made modern government similarly complicated. Government in the United States today is a highly specialized area and people who are involved in government require special training.

The majority of our major national political leaders have spent the greater part of their adult lives in politics. However, many officeholders, such as first-term congressmen, are new to public office; but even these men have devoted a great deal of their time before they won office to political activities. Moreover, once they are in office, most politicians, even at lower levels, seek with all their energy, time and skill to stay there. As a result they become political professionals. You will read about a number of typical political professionals in the next few weeks.

Elected officeholders are not our only type of political leader, however. In fact, some of our most influential leaders have never held elective public office. In addition to our professional elective officeholders, such as Congressmen, Senators, Governors and Mayors, we can identify two other types of leaders , each with his individual specialty.

The first of these is the professional party organizer. These are the men who keep the machinery of the two major political parties well oiled and efficient during the long periods between elections. They are the men who organize campaigns, get out the vote and do all the other things necessary to get a man into office in our political system. Their major specialized skills are their talents for organization and their ability to bring factions into harmony, to strike compromises so that various groups with different interests can be joined together at least long enough to win the next election.

Although many professional party organizers never have and never will hold office, they are still quite powerful. Many an officeholder, from the lowest to the highest, knows that he must rely on these men if his career is to continue. Because the professional party organizer has such influence over who gets nominated for elective office in his party, people who aspire to political office must listen to him. For this reason the professional party man's voice is often heard in the highest councils of government.

Some politicians are skillful enough to combine roles as elective officeholders and professional party organizers. In cases such as this the power of the individual to affect decision making is apt to be increased. Two Pennsylvanians, Congressman William Green of Philadelphia and ex-Governor David Lawrence of Pittsburgh, have combined these two roles in recent years. When we study the career of Governor Lawrence (see Reading 10) we will understand better the importance of individuals who are skillful enough both to win office and to control party organizations.

The last, and by far the most numerous type of leader, is the appointed political bureaucrat. He may be an individual who has worked his way up through the administrative phase of government to a position where he can directly influence policy making. He may be an employee of an important state or national bureau such as the Department of Labor, an Embassador or Presidential Assistant. In many cases he will have earned his post because of some technical skill he possesses which is necessary to efficient government. In other cases he will have received his appointment in recognition of his own political power and the strength his support adds to the administration.

The people who perform these three roles--elective officeholders, professional party organizers and appointed bureaucrats--make up the professional political leadership of the United States. They are professionals because they work at politics to the virtual exclusion of other activities. Unlike the chiefs of primitive tribes, they are not economic or religious leaders. Most of them make their entire living from politics and do not hold other jobs. Who they are, what social groups they come from, what they believe and how they work have a very great influence on the political life of the entire nation.

On the other hand, many men who have considerable influence in government at all levels are not involved professionally in the game of politics. Business leaders, scientists, educators, and many others for one reason or another may be called upon to hold important appointive governmental posts at various times. Secretary of Defense McNamara, for example, is primarily a business executive from the automobile industry and will probably return to private business after his years in Washington are ended. More and more college professors are working for the government on leaves from their universities. During the Kennedy administration, a standard joke in Washington was that Harvard University would soon close because its faculty was busy running the government. This was hardly the case, but the germ of truth in this joke indicates the extent to which leaders from other areas of American society have spilled over into the political sphere.

The recruitment of political leaders from education and from industry has many implications for American government. This trend indicates, for example, the increasing reliance of the government upon expert specialists. Some jobs are so specialized and make such extreme demands for education or particular skills that training as a professional politician is not often the best preparation for such tasks. This development may also mark the increasing importance of the executive branch of the government. Most of the important laws passed by Congress are written for a general situation. The details of legislation have to be filled in by experts who thoroughly understand the problems to be solved. If this trend continues, the role of the non-professional politician may increase as a power factor in our government's major decision-making processes.

At least we can be sure that our government is moving in the direction of greater differentiation instead of less. As our society becomes even more complicated, our government will become more complicated in turn. With complexity comes a greater demand for specialization. These specialists will be forced by the very nature of our society to make many decisions which cannot be made directly by voters. For this reason it is particularly important in the study of political science to find out who these specialists are and what they are likely to do and to discover ways of choosing the ones most likely to serve our needs. In reality, the choice of the voter may become one group of specialists rather than another.

READING IX

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS*

It is impossible to generalize about the social backgrounds of all American political leaders. Much depends upon the part of the country and in the importance of the office. For example, a county commissioner in a predominantly rural county in the Mid-West would more often than not be a farmer. On the other hand, the mayor of a large city would probably represent a business or professional group. Since it is impossible to generalize about all political leaders, we will concentrate our investigation in this lesson on the social backgrounds of national political leaders and pay less attention to leaders in other levels of government.

By social background we mean race, religion, education, the occupation of the decision maker, and the occupations of his father. We will try to determine whether national political leaders have social characteristics similar to those of typical Americans, or whether men with certain backgrounds form a disproportionate part of our political leadership.

This is a very important question. Many Americans believe that each citizen is born with an equal chance to hold public office. In theory this is true, in practice some people seem to be born with advantages over others. In order to understand how our leaders are recruited, we need to examine their backgrounds.

For evidence about the social backgrounds of decision makers we will use five tables taken from the standard authority on this subject, Donald Matthews, THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS. Under each table we have asked specific questions all of which can be answered by examining the information in the table itself. Since one of our objectives in this assignment is to help you to learn to use information in tabular form, our procedure has been designed in part to help you extract the maximum information possible.

You should first turn to the tables and answer the questions under each table for yourself. Then come back to the study questions which follow this introduction and answer them. They are designed to help pull together the more specific information which you can derive from individual tables.

1. According to the criteria given in the five tables, what is the social background of a "typical" American decision-maker on the national level?

2. How do you account for the predominance of men of this particular social background in American politics?

3. Do the tables lead you to believe that the general picture is changing?

4. Does the information in the table imply that the United States has a "ruling class?" If you are not certain what the term "ruling class" means, write down what you think it means and then check it against the definition you find in your dictionary.

* From Donald R. Matthews, THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS, (New York, Random House: 1954), 23, 24, 27, 29, 30.

This reading consists entirely of five tables with questions following each table to serve as a guide. The five tables are Negroes in Congress: 1869-1964; Religious Affiliation of U.S. Senators and Representatives, 77th, 78th and 81st Congresses; Educational Level of American Political Decision Makers; Occupational Class of Fathers of American Political Decision Makers; and Occupational Class of American Political Decision Makers.

Table I:

1) In 1869 Negroes made up 14 per cent of the population; today they are 10 per cent. The membership of the 41st Congress was 333; today's Congress numbers 535. Has the Negro race been proportionately represented in Congress?

Table II:

1) What percentage of the total religious population of the U.S. in 1950 was claimed by the Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Unitarian churches?
2) What percentage of Senators of the 81st Congress were members of these four groups?
3) What was probably the more important factor in the election of these men: their religion or the fact that most of them were probably richer, better educated, and had more prestige in their communities than "average" people?

Table III:

1) What percentage of the population in 1940 had college educations?
2) How many of the 431 United States Representatives counted in this survey had received college educations?
3) In which governmental positions are better educated people found? Why do you think this was the case?

Table IV:

1) **What was the largest single occupational class in the labor force of 1890?**
2) **Which were the two smallest occupational classes in the labor force of 1890?**
3) **Of these three, which class produced the largest number of political decision makers? Which class produced the smallest?**
4) **What percentage of the labor force was made up of low salaried workers, wage earners, servants and farm laborers?**
5) **What percentage of sons from these four classes became 1) U.S. Senators, 2) U.S. Representatives, and 3) High level civil servants?**

Table V:

1) **Which single occupational class produced most political decision-makers?**
2) **What was the largest occupational class in the labor force in 1940?**
3) **Contrast the size of this class with the size of the professional class. Which occupational class produced more political decision-makers?**
4) **Why do you think some occupational groups produced more political decision-makers than did others?**

READING X

WHAT MAKES A MAN A GOOD PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE?

Some men who seem to be the most reluctant political candidates are ardently pursued by their parties to run. Others who announce their intention to run are almost totally ignored, particularly by the party professionals. Some men are drafted into service; others, try as they will, never win their party's favor. This situation has little to do with a man's proven political ability or experience. Many able administrators and skilled politicians are passed over for men of poorer backgrounds. In some cases political parties have chosen a candidate with almost no political experience. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, twice elected president in the 1950's, fit this description when the Republicans first nominated him in 1951.

In Reading VIII we learned that our national political leaders are drawn disproportionately from certain social groups in our society. When it is time to choose a President, the choice is narrowed still further. Often the key to the issue is not whether a man will make a good president but whether or not he can be elected. Political scientists use the term availability to describe this issue. Availability means that in order to receive the nomination, a candidate must meet certain tests. For example, his name should be well known to the voters, but it should not be too closely identified with any particular stand on an issue which might offend a large number of voters. A number of other issues are involved in assessing a candidate's availability, but they will vary with the office and the section of the country.

Reading X discusses nine tests which the author believes apply to presidential candidates. They do not necessarily apply to many other jobs in politics. In some sections of the country, meeting all nine of these tests would be a positive handicap to a candidate, particularly in races for local or state office. We must be careful not to apply the generalizations drawn from this lesson to other situations. Nevertheless, it is interesting to learn that more is required of a candidate for the Presidency than that he meet the constitutional requirements: a natural-born American citizen, thirty-five years or older in age, and a resident in the United States for at least fourteen years.

The article which follows appeared in the New York Times Magazine prior to the 1960 presidential nominating conventions. The author tried to set forth the major tests which he thought presidential hopefuls would have to pass. He was clearly wrong about one of these, as you will see. As you read the article, consider the following questions:

1. What are the "nine tests for the presidential hopeful?"
2. What sort of evidence does the author use to support his argument that a candidate must pass most of these nine tests? Is this procedure a good one?
3. Why, according to the author, are some of the tests less reliable today than they used to be?
4. Which of these tests would not apply to a person who was running for mayor of a large city?

NINE TESTS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFUL*

Sidney Hyman

The unwritten rules defining who is--and who is not--an "available" candidate cut the list of potential nominees down to a small political aristocracy.

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* **From Sidney Hyman, "Nine Tests for the Presidential Hopeful," in NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, January 4, 1959, 11 ff.**

Hyman indicates in this article that a candidate for the presidency ought to have political talent, that he ought to be the governor of a state, that he ought to come from a large state which has no record of one-party voting, that he ought to come from the North or at least be acceptable to the North, that he ought to appeal to many different minority interests, that he ought to have a happy family life, that he ought to come from a small town, that he ought to be born of English stock, that he ought to be a Protestant.

READING XI

A CASE STUDY IN LOCAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

What is true of Washington, D.C. may not be true of Pittsburgh. The social backgrounds and intellectual traits of political leaders on the national level may differ very much from the characteristics of city or state leaders. The nine tests for a presidential hopeful which we studied in Reading IX do not necessarily apply to people who wish to be the mayor of a large city. In like manner, the generalizations about the social backgrounds and the personal attributes of national political leaders may not be true of local political leaders. A large city has unique problems. We need not be surprised if politicians who run cities differ somewhat from national political leaders, or from local leaders in small towns.

In Readings eight through eleven we have tried to analyze the attributes of American political leaders. We have learned that no one set of characteristics of attributes describes them all. Today you will have the opportunity to read about the career of another type of American political leader who displays still different characteristics. This man is David L. Lawrence, formerly Mayor of Pittsburgh, later Governor of Pennsylvania, and presently an official in the Johnson administration. This article concerns itself mainly with Lawrence as the "boss" of the Pittsburgh Democratic political machine. The author, Frank Hawkins, a reporter for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, has followed Lawrence's career closely and is well acquainted with many of the friends and colleagues of the man he has written about. The portrait he has painted is filled with details that only an insider would know.

Careers of men like Lawrence provide fascinating case studies for political scientists. Lawrence's career reveals much about the way in which politics operates in the United States. All three of the previous readings will help you to analyze this article. Review your notes before you begin to read Mr. Hawkins' article. As you review, think of questions brought out by those readings which will help you to analyze Lawrence's career.

As you read the article for today, keep the following specific questions in mind:

1. How many of Hyman's nine criteria does Lawrence fulfill? Is his failure to meet more of these any disadvantage in local politics? Would they be if he were running for national office?

2. Is Lawrence's social background similar to that of "typical" decision-makers on the national level? Consider the five criteria which Matthews used.

3. What was Lawrence like as a person? Make a list of adjectives which describe him. Do these personal attributes help to explain his success?

4. In thinking back over what you have learned this week, what generalizations can you offer concerning the attributes of American political leaders?

5. Which is the best source of information about politicians, an article like Hyman's, tables like those of Matthews, or a biography such as the one Hawkins has written?

LAWRENCE OF PITTSBURGH: BOSS OF THE MELLON PATCH*

* From Frank Hawkins, "Lawrence of Pittsburgh: Boss of the Mellon Patch," in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, August 1956.

This selection is a capsule biography of David Lawrence, former mayor of Pittsburgh and former governor of Pennsylvania. The article probes Lawrence's personality and recounts his rise to power as mayor of Pittsburgh through the local Democratic machine. It also explains how Lawrence became the leader of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party and how he has guided it through good and bad times.

UNIT IV

ATTRIBUTES OF SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

STATING THE ISSUE

In Unit III we identified the personal characteristics of American political leaders; in Readings eleven through fourteen we will study the attributes of Soviet politicians. You may be surprised to learn that Soviet and American political leaders are alike in many ways. Soviet leaders are specialized and differentiated as are American leaders. There are party organizers, bureaucrats, elected officials, and specialists in the USSR just as there are in the United States. These similarities arise from the fact that the Soviet Union, like the United States, is a complex, industrialized nation, which requires political specialists to run effectively.

There are many important differences between the leaders in these two countries, however. For example, Soviet and American leaders are recruited from quite different social groups. Many additional variations will become apparent as you examine Readings 11 through 14. Most of these variations result from the fact that the Soviet government grew out of an historical tradition very different from ours. In addition, Communist ideology, although it originated in the West, has little in common with the ideology of most Americans.

We will begin this unit by reading about political leadership in Imperial Russia before the 1917 Communist revolution. With this background in mind, you will be better equipped to judge the kind of Soviet leadership which emerged later. The remainder of the unit deals specifically with the attributes of contemporary Soviet leaders. Focus your attention on the following three major issues: What are the attributes of Soviet political leaders? To what extent are these attributes a product of the Russian political tradition? How are Soviet leaders similar to and different from American politicians?

READING XII

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA

To understand political leadership in the Soviet Union, we must know something about the kind of men who led Russia before the Communists gained control of the government in 1917. Without this understanding, we may judge the present Russian government only by American standards. If, however, we know a little about political leadership in Imperial Russia, we can also judge Soviet leadership today in the light of Russian tradition and institutions. No nation or society can ever reject its past completely. Many present Soviet practices and much of what the Soviet Union is trying to overcome grew directly out of Russia's past.

With the exception of the government of primitive societies, every political system changes. Like other western countries, Russia was not a static society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its political ideas and institutions were evolving slowly. Democratic, oligarchic and autocratic tendencies all developed side by side. Yet, by the nineteenth century the government was mainly an autocratic one; that is, it was run by one man called a tsar. Reading XI describes Russian government in the nineteenth century.

As you read, keep in mind the types of questions we asked about leadership in the United States:

1. What three groups of leaders are described in this reading?
2. Were leaders in Imperial Russia specialized and differentiated?
3. How were they recruited? How were they trained?
4. What social groups were most represented by political leaders in Imperial Russia?

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Until 1917, Imperial Russia was an autocracy. Until 1906 she had been an absolute autocracy, a term which means that the tsar was above the law, that he could pass new laws as he saw fit, and that he could operate independently of the law when he chose to do so. Even when a constitution abolishing absolutism was established in 1906, the tsar's power remained immense. Article 4 of that constitution defined the nature of the tsar's autocratic power as follows: "The Emperor of all the Russias wields the Supreme Autocratic power. To obey His authority not only from fear but also from conscience is ordered by God himself." Therefore, according to the constitution, the tsar was the ruler of Russia not because he had proved himself to be the most worthy of that position or because he was selected by the majority of Russian people, but because he was God's representative on earth. Each Russian citizen was supposed to obey the tsar just as each Christian was required to obey the word of God.

It is difficult for Americans to accept this theory of government and to understand that others accepted it without much question. Believing in the idea of equality, we are not ready to concede that some are born to rule while others are born to serve. Yet, autocracy was accepted in Russia. There were many ardent admirers of the autocratic ideal among the upper classes, and the peasants loved the tsar as a person and as a protector. No matter what hardships peasants were required to bear or how much they hated local government officials, they continued to love "the little father", their name for the tsar, whom they were certain would relieve them of their burdens if he only knew of them. This attitude resulted in a situation peculiar to Russia. Peasants would rise in revolt against government regulations, oppressive taxes, and corrupt bureaucrats. At the same time, they would pledge their unswerving loyalty to the one person, the tsar, who was responsible for their plight and in a position to do something about it.

A. A. Mossolov, one of the members of the court of the last Russian tsar, Nicholas II, and an ardent admirer of autocracy, expressed the autocratic ideal as follows:

> At the head of all stands the Sovereign, the autocrat. Below, teeming and inchoate, is the struggling mass of his subjects. In order that Russia may live in tranquility and content, all that is necessary is that there shall be direct relations between the Sovereign and his subjects.
>
> The Tsar can do no wrong; he stands above classes, party politics, and personal rivalries. He desires the good of his people, and has practically unlimited means for achieving it. He seeks nothing for himself; he has a profound love of all those whom God has confined to his supreme care. There is no reason why he should not be the benefactor of each and all. All that is wanted is that he should know exactly what his people need.
>
> The subjects love the Tsar, for he is the source of all their well-being. They cannot fail to love the Sovereign, for no other feeling is possible toward Beneficence personified.*

The Russians looked on the tsar as if he were a father. The government was set up as if the Russian people were only members of the tsar's family. There were no political parties, constitutions, or parliaments. These institutions would have disturbed the unique relationship between the tsar and his subjects. Russian autocracy was based on trust and confidence. The subjects maintained faith in the essential goodness of the tsar; the tsar depended upon the loyalty of his subjects. The tsar ruled in the interests of all; his subjects toiled to provide the means to support the state.

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* At the Court of the Last Tsar: Being the Memoirs of A. A. Mossolov, ed., A. A. Pilenco. Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1935, p. 128.

From 1613 to 1917 the Romanov family, the longest ruling dynasty in European history, provided all of Russia's tsars. Because the tsardom was inherited, recruiting the top leader for Imperial Russia was no problem. There was certainly no need for "nine tests" such as those Hyman described. Whether the tsar's eldest son was wise or inept, moral or immoral, efficient or indifferent, he was legally entitled to rule because he was the heir of the Romanov family. In most cases the eldest son succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. In other cases, the tsarina or queen ruled for a time. Occasionally the legitimate heir was overthrown by a stronger and more forceful member of the family. But throughout the span of three centuries, one family, the Romanovs, kept the title of autocrat in its hands and ruled Russia as if it were a family estate.

In no other major society in the nineteenth century did the government play as great a role as it did in Russia. Most Russian peasants were serfs, that is, they were bound to the land and could not leave the villages where they were born. Before the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the government controlled 16 million of Russia's 40 million serfs because the government owned the land. The government also controlled the church and the schools, and because censorship was so tight, it controlled the press. It established industries of its own, to make products such as guns and supervised and controlled industries which were privately owned. It also assumed responsibility for protecting workers in both public and private industries. In short, almost every phase of life in Russia was touched by the government to some degree.

No one tsar, however capable, could rule such a far-flung empire occupying fully one-sixth the land area of the earth and containing many nationalities, ethnic groups, races, and religions without help. The day-by-day affairs of government rested in the hands of an army of bureaucrats who carried government authority into every city, village, and peasant hut throughout Russia. Millions of Russians who never saw the person of the tsar in their lives saw Russian autocracy reflected in the actions of the tsar's officials and bureaucrats with whom they were forced to deal regularly.

These officials and bureaucrats may be divided for purposes of analysis into higher and lower officials. The higher officials consisted of men drawn from the "best families" of Russia. Most of them owned large estates tended by others. Income from these estates gave them time and resources to devote their lives to government service. Out of this small, privileged class--no more than one or two percent of the total population--were drawn the ministers, foreign diplomats, generals, governors, and others who held the highest positions of authority and were the confidants of the tsar.

Although Russia needed several sorts of governmental specialists, none developed. Military men were assigned to jobs which were essentially civilian and vice versa. Generals were often made governors of provinces; lawyers were put in charge of the Orthodox Church. Members of the imperial family--the tsar's brothers, uncles, cousins, and nephews--were often awarded high posts in the army or civil bureaucracy. Ministers and officials moved easily and often from one post to another whether or not their previous training and experience had any relevance to the new assignment.

Russian government required many specialists who could not be recruited from among the traditional official groups. The government satisfied this need by recruiting scholars from universities in Russia and abroad on a temporary basis. Many specialists in economics, law, commerce, industry, and the military were recruited from western Europe. Some of them established residence in Russia and remained to hold permanent positions in the bureaucracy.

The higher officials of the Tsar's government did not view themselves as public servants but servants of the Tsar. They shared a more or less common intellectual and cultural background, but their experience and training was not particularly useful in their future occupations. Most were well-educated according to the style of that day, but they had not learned a common body of knowledge. Some had received their primary and secondary education at home from tutors; others went away to boarding schools. Although the majority attended military institutions in Russia, some had a university education either in Russia or abroad. Everywhere, however, education was directed toward training "gentlemen" rather than toward preparing men to be government officials. What professional training existed was basically military. Because officials were shifted about from one post to another and had no common educational experience to train them for government service, there was little professional pride or sense of solidarity among government officials.

Occasionally distinguished officials appeared who did have the ability to grasp the complexities of their jobs. Protected by the autocracy which kept them free from responsibility to an electorate, they were able to perform outstanding service to the tsar and the states. But men such as Michael Speransky in the nineteenth century and Count Sergei Iu. Witte and Peter Stolypin in the twentieth century were exceptional. Most of the higher government officials were mediocre and cared very little about the welfare of the people they ruled.

The men who held posts as the lower level officials were recruited from impoverished gentry (landowners), merchants, or village priests. Whether they served in large cities or in villages, they held jobs which were essentially clerical and had little real decision-making power. There was no regular procedure for recruiting these clerks, and no particular standard of education was required. Whatever knowledge was required was provided in an informal on-the-job training program. Such an approach was hardly designed to prepare imaginative and creative civil servants. "They were," in the words of one author, "an underpaid, demoralized lot, open to corruption and the worst kind of graft. Possessing neither education nor ambition, they were utterly incapable of giving useful advice to their superiors. At best, they could apply blindly the orders handed down from St. Petersburg."

A deep gulf separated the higher officials from the lower ranks of the bureaucracy. In the first place, they represented separate social classes. Furthermore, there was no way to advance easily from lower ranks into higher administrative posts. For someone without good aristocratic connections, the only route open to a career in politics was to become secretary to a high official.

The result was demoralization in the ranks of the lower officials. Administration for the typical clerk was little more than shuffling papers, copying reports and forwarding them to another office. All attempts to streamline work and to make clerks more efficient in their tasks were resisted because such reforms required men to learn new ways of doing things. Consequently, higher officials had nothing but contempt for the petty bureaucrats under their supervision. The bureaucrats in turn hated their superiors. For this reason, a new minister appointed to an unfamiliar post could not rely upon the support and advice of those working in his office. When policy was drawn up at the highest levels of the government, it was often stymied by the neglect of the clerks who were responsible for seeing policy carried out.

The men who occupied positions which would have given them real opportunities for local leadership in the United States today had neither the ability nor the ambition to occupy such a role in nineteenth century Russia. Higher officials who might have become national leaders under another political system were not trained for the tasks they were asked to do, nor did they think of themselves as political leaders in the modern sense of the word. Often they were little more than courtiers who stood ready to do the tsar's bidding in return for favors. Finally, the tsar, who set the tone for the government at large, was chosen to lead because of his birth rather than for any talent he might have. He was trained to rule only in the sense that his parents and tutors showed him how to give commands and to observe court protocol. He received no formal training in the problems of civil administration. What special training he did have was usually in military techniques.

As a result the Russian government was primarily concerned with preserving the status quo rather than with beginning government reforms which might endanger the position of someone with influence. In Imperial Russia no one tried to recruit the best men for government or to train them adequately for the posts they were to fill. The autocratic power of the tsar and the inefficient state bureaucracy remained as they were until the Bolshevik revolution overthrew the tsarist government in 1917.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Russian people became accustomed to government from the top. They looked to the tsar to solve their problems, and they became used to the idea that someone in authority would make major political decisions and appoint officials to carry them out. The movements to establish parliaments and to set up a constitution like those of the western democracies were restricted to a few educated people. The peasants put their faith in the goodness of the tsar, not in the ability of a constitution and a parliament to help them. The authoritarian government of the tsars ultimately gave way to the totalitarian government of the Commissars. Although the latter government adopted the forms of democracy, it actually extended government control over the individual to a far greater degree than the tsars ever achieved or even desired. Perhaps the Communists were aided in this by the habits of mind and deep-seated customs of the Russian people which led them to accept government from above.

In the middle of World War I, in 1917, the government of the tsar was overthrown and replaced by a communist government. Obviously the communists could not rely on former Russian leaders to serve the new regime. They killed the tsar and many members of the old nobility who had been leaders on the higher level. They were forced, however, to use the lower level administrators and even a few of the more important ones. They then faced the task of recruiting and training new leaders. Readings 12-14 describe what they did and analyze the attributes of present Soviet leadership.

READING XIII
RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

In Reading eleven, we learned how political leaders were recruited and trained in Imperial Russia during the nineteenth century. Today's reading concerns the recruitment and training of political leaders in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union approaches the problem of recruitment and training of its political leaders with a far greater sense of purpose than did the government under the tsars. The Soviets attempt to recruit and to train a corps of alert, ambitious, and efficient people who are completely loyal to the regime. Since the USSR expects all its key leaders to emerge from the ranks of the Communist Party, it selects party members with great care. They are tested by various types of assignments requiring ever greater skill and responsibility, and weeded out whenever they are found lacking. What makes a good political leader may be far different than those qualities we expect to find in our leaders, but one cannot deny that the Soviet Union is constantly engaged in a talent search for people who can handle positions of responsibility.

Our examination of the training and recruitment of Soviet leaders will be accomplished by an analysis of a fictionalized but highly representative case study of a Communist Party secretary at the Raion (District) level. A Party secretary is the highest Communist official at whatever level he may be found. The Party secretary of a Raion has, ultimately, responsibility for all the social, political, and economic activities which take place in his district.

The account which you will read was written shortly after the death of Stalin, in 1953. Therefore, the references to Beria, Malenkov, and the collegial system may seem somewhat dated in light of the rise of Khrushchev since 1957. Nevertheless, the overall description of the responsibilities and concerns which beset a party secretary at the local level continue to hold true today.

The following questions should help you in your analysis of the problem:

1. How is Teplov similar to or different from the bureaucrats in Imperial Russia that you read about in Reading XI?
2. What seem to be the important criteria on which promotion is based? Do you consider Teplov an ambitious politician? Is he more practical than theoretical?
3. Are there obstacles to political advancement in the USSR which are not faced by American politicians? Do Russian politicians have certain advantages over American politicians? If so, what are they?
4. How had Teplov been recruited for a leadership role? Did he represent a different social group than that from which tsarist bureaucrats had been selected? How was he trained?

THE PARTY SECRETARY (PART I) *

From Raymond A. Bauer, NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS (New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: 1955) 60-75 passim.

This fictionalized account describes the personality, the daily life, and the personal history of a Raion Party Secretary. Teplov, the fictional party secretary in question, is the party secretary at the time of Stalin's death. The account focuses mainly upon his relationship to his superiors and his inferiors and Teplov's brooding over how these relationships might affect his future. The account explains the routes Teplov took to gain power and the alternatives open to him in the future.

READING XIV

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

In the previous Reading we sought answers to questions relating to the recruitment and training of Soviet leaders. It would be well to keep these points in mind as you continue to read this case study of the Party secretary in the Baltinsk Raion. However, our primary concern in today's lesson is to identify the specific characteristics which distinguish Soviet leaders from the Russian population at large. Why are some chosen to be leaders while others are not? Once having been chosen to lead, do these leaders live and act differently than the mass of Soviet society?

This case study may be more meaningful when you know that Premier Khrushchev was once a Party secretary at the raion level. He held such a post in 1925; it is possible to chart his rise in the Party from that point until his election to First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shortly after the death of Stalin.

The following questions should contribute to your understanding of the reading:

1. Are there any advantages to the individual and his family if a person becomes a Party official? What disadvantages does a Party official face? Is a "new class" of privileged people developing in the Soviet Union?

2. What personal characteristics should a man have to succeed in Soviet politics? Are such characteristics different from those needed to succeed in the United States?

3. Does Teplov seem to be more concerned about the people under his authority or about achieving quotas and goals? Support your view with specific evidence. Is this attitude common only to the Soviet political system?

4. What kinds of pressures affect a Soviet politician which did not affect officials in the tsarist government?

THE PARTY SECRETARY (PART II) *

* From Raymond A. Bauer, NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS (New York; John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: 1955) 60-75 passim.

This selection takes up the fictional life of Teplov, the Raion Party secretary, where Reading XIII left off. The account deals with another day in the life of the party secretary and his relationship to one of his former superiors, Rashevsky. Rashevsky is one of Teplov's enemies. It appears that in the Kremlin shake-up after Stalin's death, Rashevsky would gain a position that would ruin Teplov's career. The selection focuses mainly upon Teplov's reaction to this news and his relationship with his assistant party secretary, also one of his enemies. The account, therefore, provides a portrait of Teplov's political sense and his ability to weather political storms.

READING XV
THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

In reading IX we asked a number of questions about the social backgrounds of American political leaders. In the reading for today we will ask similar questions about the origins of Soviet political leaders. As in Reading IX, our information will be drawn entirely from tables. In the Soviet Union the top political leaders are all members of the Communist Party. Therefore, our study consists entirely of analyzing the social backgrounds of Communist Party members and comparing them to the Soviet population at large.

In contrast to political parties in the United States that try to attract as many members as possible, the Communist Party has always sought to restrict its membership and to admit only those who fit its current needs or interests. Before 1917, the Party recruited only those individuals who were willing to be dedicated revolutionaries. Originally the Party included as many members drawn from well-educated, middle-class backgrounds as it did from workers. After the 1917 Revolution, the Party consciously tried to widen its proletarian base by deliberately recruiting most of its members from the worker and peasant classes. At the same time it restricted severely the recruitment of members from other occupations and social classes.

In the 1930's the Party once again altered its approach and began to recruit members from all occupations and classes. Party recruiters sought out the "best people" who were likely to provide the most competent leadership in all phases of Soviet society. In 1962 the Party numbered 10,400,000, approximately seven per cent of the total adult population.

In the tables which follow, you will be able to discover what social groups are now most heavily represented by Soviet political leaders. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How are Soviet political leaders differentiated from the population as a whole?
2. What trends can you observe in the social backgrounds of Soviet political leaders?
3. How are Soviet leaders similar to or dissimilar from American political leaders?
4. On the basis of these tables, to what extent do Soviet leaders represent the "best people" in Soviet society?

TABLE I

SOCIAL STATUS AND CPSU MEMBERSHIP 1961

ADULTS	USSR	PER CENT OF EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION	CPSU	PER CENT OF PARTY BY OCCUPATION	PER CENT OF PARTY MEMBERS IN EACH OCCUPATION
Gainfully employed in national economy.	107,600,000	100.0	10,000,000	100.0	9.3
Workers	49,700,000	47.3	3,450,000	34.5	6.9
Peasants	34,300,000	32.0	1,750,000	17.5	5.1
Employees (mental workers, intelligentsia):	22,250,000	20.7	4,800,000	48.0	21.6
Heads of organizations, institutions, enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozy, RTS, and their subdivisions	1,400,000	1.3	490,000	4.9	35.0
Engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, architects, economists	4,700,000	4.7	1,400,000	14.0	30.0
Personnel in science, education, public health, literature and art	5,200,000	5.1	1,030,000	10.3	20.0

1. What is the occupation of most Party members?

2. In what occupations are members of the Communist Party most heavily represented when compared to the total number of people in that occupation?

3. What conclusions can you draw as to what occupations seem most important for the Communists to control through concentrating Party membership there?

TABLE II

NATIONAL ORIGIN AND ACCESS TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION

1962	POPULATION		CPSU		PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT, 1962*	
	Number (millions)	Per cent of total	Members (thousands)	Per Cent of total	Members	Per cent of total
Russians	114.6	54.6	6,100	63.5	12	75
Ukrainians	37.0	17.8	1,400	14.6	2	12.5
Byelorussians	7.8	3.8	287	3.0	0	0
Uzbeks	6.0	2.9	143	1.5	0	0
Tatars	5.0	2.4	No Data		0	0
Kazakhs	3.6	1.7	149	1.5	0	0
Azerbaijanis	2.9	1.4	106	1.1	0	0
Armenians	2.8	1.3	161	1.7	1	6.3
Georgians	2.7	1.3	170	1.8	0	0
Lithuanians	2.3	1.1	43	.4	0	0
Jews	2.3	1.1	No Data		0	0
Moldavians	2.2	1.1	27	.3	0	0
Latvians	1.4	.7	34	.35	0	0
Finns	0.1	.05	No Data		1	6.3

(* The most important Party leaders.)

1. Are all the various nationalities represented proportionately by Soviet political leaders?

2. If not, which nationalities seem over-represented and which are under-represented?

3. Is there any evidence in this chart to support the charge that the "Great Russians" dominate all the other nationalities?

TABLE III

PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS OF TOP POLITICAL LEADERS

	USSR* 1961 N-175	USA** 1958 N-100
	Per Cent	
Total politics and government	61.7	37.0
Politics (party bureaucracy: USSR; electoral politics: USA)	37.7	19.0
Private career and politics	--	8.0
Politics and government bureaucracy	24.0	1.0
Private career and government bureaucracy	--	9.0
Total commerce and industry	18.8	40.0
Total other occupations	19.5	23.0
Military (including 1 military and business: USA)	8.2	7.0
Journalisn, mass media, writing	3.4	4.0
Education and sciences	1.7	4.0
Labor organizations	1.7	3.0
Law	.6	3.0
Diplomacy	1.7	--
Religion	--	1.0
Farming	1.1	1.0
Factory worker	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0

* These figures are drawn from members of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1961.

** These are top national leaders as identified in a study by Floyd Hunter in 1958. They were scattered across politics, government, business and the professions but were all judged to have a major voice in making decisions at the national level (See Floyd Hunter, Top Leadership: USA, Chapel Hill, 1959; Pp. 195 ff.).

1. About what percentage of the leaders of each nation are drawn from the category labeled "Total: Other occupations"?
2. Which of the two states will have a higher percentage of its leaders primarily engaged in politics and government?
3. What is the major source of American leaders?

TABLE IV

PRIMARY INSTITUTIONAL CONNECTION OF TOP SOVIET LEADERS: PARTY PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT COMBINED

	STALIN	MALENKOV	BULGANIN-KHRUSHCHEV	KHRUSHCHEV
	1949	1953	1956	1962
	N-15	N-18	N-21	N-21
			Per Cent	
Party apparat*	54	61	67	81
(ideologue)	(7)	(11)	(14)	(20)
State bureaucracy	33	28	23	19
(industrial)	(20)	(17)	(14)	(5)
Police and military	13	11	9	--
	Educational Background			
Higher	40	56	71	76
(Technical-Scientific Institute)	(33)	(45)	(53)	(52)
(Economics, Marxism-Leninism, and humanities)	(6)	(11)	(18)	(24)
Incomplete higher and secondary	34	21	14	19
(Seminary)	(13)	(5)	(5)	(5)
(Technical)	(13)	(11)	(5)	(10)
Primary	13	11	5	5
Less	13	11	9	--

* "Apparat" means those individuals who are totally involved in the every day operation of the Communist Party. The closest equivalents to the United States would be the national committeemen, state chairman, and county chairmen of each of our political parties.

1. What institution has provided most of the leaders in Khrushchev's government?

2. Does the secret police wield greater or less influence today in terms of providing leaders than it did under Stalin?

3. Are Khrushchev's leaders better or more poorly educated than leaders under Stalin?

4. What generalization can you make about the trend in choosing leaders in the USSR based on this table?

TABLE V

EDUCATION AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP: SOVIET UNION

	USSR POPULATION (1959)	CPSU MEMBERS (1961)	RATIO
	In millions		Per cent
Complete higher education	3.8	1.3	34.2
Incomplete higher and secondary	10.6	2.9	27.4
Specialized secondary	7.9	1.8	23.0
Incomplete secondary	35.4	2.8	8.2
Primary or less	151.1	.8	.5
Toral	208.8	9.6	4.6

1. Of those Soviet citizens receiving higher education, what per cent are Communist Party members?

2. Do most Russian citizens have at least a secondary school education? Do a majority of Communist Party members have at least a secondary school education?

3. What generalization can you make about the education of Party members when compared to the population as a whole?

UNIT V: AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS GAIN AND MAINTAIN SUPPORT

STATING THE ISSUE

In every society political leaders face two problems: how to gain support in order to win office and, once in office, how to keep support in order to remain there. In societies where leadership rests on military strength, a leader must always make sure that this opposition remains unarmed to guard against the possibility of a revolution. In a democratic society, however, the weapons of the opposition are primarily votes. Political leaders can "disarm" their opponents only by winning away the votes required to win a position of leadership.

Not all of our leaders gain and maintain support in the same ways. Elected officials must first win the approval of their parties, and then win a victory from the voters at the polls. Party organizers are primarily concerned with gaining and maintaining the support of party leaders. Appointed bureaucrats worry more about winning and preserving the support of the administrative and legislative branches of the government. They are only indirectly concerned with what the voters think.

In Readings 16 to 23 which follow we will focus on the ways in which American political leaders--especially elected officials--gain and maintain support. As you read, keep the following questions in mind: Are most voters in elections determined more by emotional or rational reactions to the appeals of candidates? Once he is in office, does an elected official require a different sort of support from the kind that won him the office in the first place? What happens to American political leaders when they lose support? How could we improve the ways in which our leaders gain and maintain support?

READING XVI

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Political parties play a key role in the American political system. Among other things, they are responsible for recruiting and training American political leaders, and for gaining and maintaining support for them. Yet, the term "political party" is not used in the Constitution. Our founding fathers did not expect political parties, such as the ones we have, to develop in this country. They believed that voters should choose the best candidates without reference to party affiliations, and that parties would only be a divisive influence in American life.

Practical politics soon made it clear that parties were essential to a democratic political system. In the 1790's, two groups of leaders began to form around Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, and began to work in the Congress as if they were members of parties. By the Jacksonian period in the 1830's, a full party system had emerged, with nominating conventions, nationally acknowledged leaders, big campaigns, and even family quarrels over the dinner table. Our present Democratic party had its origins in these early years. The Republican party developed just before the Civil War in the great battle over slavery.

From time to time, other parties have tried to make their way in American politics. They arose because some groups of voters believed that neither of the two major parties was serving their interests. These third parties have all faded away, but the two major parties often adopted their stands on issues which caused them to break away in the first place. The failure of third parties to win a permanent place in American society suggests that a two-party system has great merit in American politics.

In Reading 16, we will study the functions of political parties in the United States. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What are the major functions of political parties in the United States? How are these functions related to gaining and maintaining support for leaders?

2. Could these functions be performed just as well by one party rather than by two? By more than two parties? Three? Are there any other institutions in American society that could perform these functions as well as parties can?

THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM

The central purpose of the political party is to gain political power in order to control the decision-making machinery of the government. To achieve this goal, the party sets up and operates the complex political machinery to win political offices, formulates policy for public debate, works for or against legislation, and provides a forum where citizens can debate issues.

To fill political offices the party must first recruit the candidate, then nominate him, next campaign for him, and finally win the election. Party officials select from their membership individuals who are willing to become candidates for each vacant office. When a party lacks qualified candidates, it actively recruits them. In 1952, the Republican party drafted General Eisenhower as its standard bearer when party leaders were dissatisfied with the qualifications of its more experienced men.

Following the nominations, the party campaigns for its candidates. It raises the necessary money and recruits volunteers to help with the job. The task of reaching all the voters in a national or state campaign is difficult and expensive under the best conditions. A political party can collect funds from its supporters that would not be available to an individual candidate. The party also can recruit and organize speakers and other volunteer workers to address mail, persuade people to register, and to get out and vote.

In addition to providing people for elective political offices, the party maintains lists of candidates for appointed offices. While most appointed offices are filled from the rolls of the Civil Service organization, which gives competitive examination for most jobs in the government, some appointed offices are given as rewards for faithful service to the party.

Political parties have additional functions. For example, they often suggest new policies to government officials. Political parties have no monopoly on this function; other groups, such as labor unions, veterans' organizations, business and civic groups, also proposed ideas to the general public and to legislators. Political parties, however, are ideally suited to convert ideas into specific policies which can be discussed publicly, such as the extent of foreign aid, the attitude of government toward education, and the relationship of legislation to civil rights. Such policies reach a compromise that most people in the party can support. Once agreement has been reached and the issue becomes party policy, all candidates and party members are supposed to support it. In this way, a number of policies reach the attention of government officials.

Not all policy originates within the major parties. Some policies, which are now embraced by the two major parties, were at first launched by third party movements. Social Security and the progressive income tax are two examples of policies which were first proposed by the American Socialist Party, and were later adopted by the Democratic party, and finally accepted by the Republicans. Both the Republicans and the Democrats are anxious to adopt policies which seem to be popular with a large number of voters. Attracting the voters of a group whose members are particularly excited about one issue helps to win elections in the United States.

Each party seeks to pitch its program to the middle of the road where most Americans are to be found. Since American political parties have not been organized along ideological lines, both the Republicans and the Democrats contain liberal and conservative members. The differences among members within each party are much greater than the differences between the parties themselves. On most major issues, the two major parties are in fundamental agreement. An examination of the party platforms supports this statement. The parties are more likely to differ on how to achieve commonly agreed upon goals than on the goals themselves. In an election campaign, the representatives of each party argue vigorously that the Republican or the Democratic way is the best way to get things done. Because candidates emphasize the differences in stand and the differences in methods of the two parties, many voters do not realize how much the two groups have in common.

Parties not only formulate policy for public debate, but they also organize to get policy statements passed into legislation. When a party wins an election, its supporters expect it to make good on the pledges in its platform. Although no one knows which portion of the platform received the greatest support from the voters, the winning party normally assumes that its victory was a vote of approval for the entire party platform, and a mandate from the public to put it into action.

There is still another function of political parties in American society. The minority party acts as the opposition. For example, when the Democratic party has control of the Presidency and the Congress, the Republican party maintains a steady barrage of criticisms. When the out-party criticized constructively, it can help the party in power to make more thoughtful decisions. Unfortunately, the minority party in our system is really leaderless. The party in power takes its cues from the president; the out-party, on the other hand, has only a defeated candidate to rally around, and more often than not, he has no position in the government. Various party leaders in Congress then sieze leadership of the minority party, despite the fact that they may not be able to speak for the party as a whole.

Political parties perform still other functions in American society. They are important as educational agencies. In a democratic society citizens must be kept informed of the issues if they are to fulfill their roles as responsible voters. By laying issues of public controversy before the voters for discussion, debate and decision, American political parties act as agents of adult education. They create interest in political issues and attempt to enlighten the voter.

Political parties reduce conflict in our society. Parties settle many divisions within their ranks by reaching compromises before a political campaign begins. For this reason, the violence characteristic of political campaigns in some countries is noticeably missing in the United States. Voters may hold strongly to their party's purpose and candidates, but after the votes have been counted, the decision of the voters is accepted. Defeated candidates do not launch revolutions or lead riots in the streets.

Parties are sometimes a source of favors and aid to people who need help. The political machines, which were so common in large cities earlier in this century, are good examples. Recent immigrants who crowded into the poor sections of large urban areas frequently relied upon political parties for jobs, food, rent, money, or favor from the police. In return for these favors, people willingly expressed their appreciation at the ballot box.

Finally, parties serve a symbolic function to many Americans. They provide an object to which men can pin their faith and allegiance. Most voters cannot study the credentials of each candidate for office. For this reason, they tend to vote for their party's candidate when they do not know the candidates personally. Faced with a long list of names of men and women they do not know, the voter sometimes casts his ballot for an institution he loves and trusts--his political party.

In all these ways, political parties act to gain and maintain support for American political leaders. Many people vigorously object to the way political parties are run. They point to the fact that parties do not represent real choices to the voters because they are so much alike. They criticize the failure of the parties to emphasize issues more than personalities, or the general hoopla which goes on at a political convention. But critics have been unable to suggest an institution which could replace political parties. The functions it performs are vital to political life in a democracy.

READING XVII

THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS

In the last lesson we learned that the primary functions of political parties is to secure and to maintain support for political leaders. While political parties play a predominant role, they are by no means the only group interested in securing the election of certain candidates. Who these groups are and how they operate is the focus of the lesson today.

Americans identify themselves with other organizations than political parties. For example, a typical American male citizen may be a member of the Baptist Church, the American Legion, the Lions Club, and the Plumbers Union as well as the Democratic party. As a member of each of these groups, he will share interests with others of the groups. He may as a Baptist oppose Federal aid to parochial schools and as a Legionnaire support greater Federal aid to veterans. He may join with others in an interest group to support candidates for election who are favorable to the group's point of view and help defeat those candidates who oppose legislation the group favors.

In most cases the interest group does not wish to form a third party and campaign for its own candidates; it realizes that it would have difficulty winning elections on the narrow interests advanced by the group. Therefore, it normally chooses to operate within the existing two major parties. It tries to secure the nomination of candidates favorable to its point of view. Once each party has announced its nominations, the interest group decides which of the two candidates it will support and works actively to secure that candidate's victory.

Thus, in their attempts to gain and maintain support, American political leaders find that they must not only secure the support of their party but also attempt to satisfy many interest groups as well. The Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Legion, the American Medical Society, the Farm Bureau, and the AFL-CIO are just a few of the many groups who are vitally interested in supporting candidates favorable to their point of view.

In the reading that follows you will have the opportunity to learn how one of the most active of these groups operate. As you read, think about these questions:

1. How are the functions of an interest group different from those of a political party?
2. How would an American political leader go about securing the support of such a group as the CIO-PAC?
3. Do such groups help or hinder our democratic system?

THE CIO-PAC *

*** From Jack Kroll, "The CIO-PAC" in Henry A. Turner, ed, POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES (New York, McGraw-Hill: 1955).**

The operation of the Political Action Committee of the CIO is explained in this article by narrating an acoount of how the PAC might work in a hypothetical congressional district. The narrative tells of the procedures of the PAC in a congressional election, from the screening of candidates, to the endorsement of one candidate, to the work the PAC does for the candidate up to and including election day.

READING XVIII

THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS

Elections serve different purposes in different political systems. In some societies they are little more than festive occasions during which the voters register their approval of the leaders that guide and direct their lives. In such elections the voters are given no choice of candidates; hence, elections are never "lost" and nothing is really decided.

In the United States elections are a principal technique by which American political leaders gain and maintain support. We have learned that political parties and interest groups have a vital role to play in gaining and maintaining support for American political leaders, and the focus of their efforts is on winning elections. Elections are really contests between candidates and parties for the good will of the American voter. The stakes are high. Victory in an election determines not only our elected officials. Elections also determine the fates of many appointed bureaucrats as the winning party expects to fill all of the top appointive positions with its own party members. Party organizers, too, are judged by elections as their abilities to "deliver" the votes or the failure to do so has considerable bearing on their political views.

Elections are crucial, therefore, in the effort to gain and maintain support for American political leaders. But why have we chosen this technique to select our leaders? We could choose them in many other ways. Elections must serve other purposes than simply the selection of political leaders. In the reading that follows, you will have the opportunity to study some of these functions.

To help you in your understanding of the reading, think about the following issues:

1. Why choose leaders by elections?
2. According to the author, what are the four major functions of American elections?
3. If we did not have elections, how could citizens participate in government?
4. In what way do our elections present genuine choices to voters?
5. How do elections contribute to gaining and maintaining support for American political leaders?

If a student from another country were to ask why we have elections in the United States, the answer would seem obvious. We would probably say that we have elections in order to choose our political leaders. This answer is simple and correct, but it is quite incomplete. Elections have other purposes as well.

Political leaders could be chosen in a number of ways. We could choose them by lot: let every citizen draw a number and those who drew the lucky numbers could govern for a while. As an alternative, we might select our leaders by heredity, simply letting the sons of leaders inherit their jobs. We could let a board of non-partisan experts pick our leaders for us. We might even administer tests to try to find the best qualified leaders and give the job of governing to them. Most of these methods are more efficient and cheaper than our present one. Some of them might even produce better leadership. At one time or another, all of them have been suggested by political thinkers.

Yet, none of them seems quite suitable. None of them fulfills the same purpose that democratic elections do. Elections in a democratic political system do more than decide who is to govern. In addition to choosing leaders, democratic elections have three additional functions: (1) they provide a way for each citizen to participate in the governing process; (2) they present genuine alternatives to the voters; and (3) they make the choices of the voters binding on the government.

Democratic government has often been defined as government by the people. But what does "government by the people" actually mean? A cursory glance at any democratic government immediately tells us that "the people" do not make the everyday decisions that constitute the process of governing. Political leaders make these decisions.

The tasks of government are so vast and so complex that the job of governing requires all a man's talents and energies. Even if all the people were qualified to make the everyday decisions of government, they would not have time to do so. Nothing else in society would get done. We can speak of democratic government as government by the people, however, because the people participate in the governing process at its most vital point--choosing the leadership. This choice is made by voting in elections.

One political scientist has described the democratic process by using the example of shoes. He argues that most Americans are poorly qualified to govern, to make day-by-day decisions, or even to decide major policy issues. Most Americans, he says, are too ill-informed and they have neither the time nor the access to information which is required to arrive at rational political decisions. In like manner, this political scientist states, we Americans would be unable to make our own shoes. We lack the time, the materials, the tools, and the know-how to put together a pair of shoes we would be willing to have others see us wear. Therefore, we buy our shoes and in so doing delegate the job of making shoes to others.

Although we delegate the manufacture of our shoes, we by no means delegate the choice of our shoes. We reserve the right to determine whether the shoe looks good to us and whether it fits. We would not buy a pair of shoes on the recommendation of a shoe salesman (an expert in his field) if the shoes were pinching our feet. In this case we think that we know what is best for us. The manufacture of shoes is left to others, but we decide if the shoes fit us.

Elections serve a "shoe-pinching" function for American voters. Most of us would be utterly confused in trying to run the State Department, or any of the other activities of government. We know that there are trained personnel more qualified than most of us to head these various departments of the government. We believe, however, that we are qualified to judge the results of our leaders' policies. If our defenses appear to be weak and if the Post Office seems to be mismanaged, the voters will demand a change; they will ask for a "new brand of shoes"--i.e., a new administration and new policies.

The notion of participation by the people in democratic government also includes the notion of participation by all the people and not just by the wealthy, the educated or the privileged elements in society. This notion of participation by all, or the idea of universal suffrage, is relatively modern. It developed rapidly during the nineteenth century.

In 1789 only one out of every thirty Americans was eligible to vote. No women could vote. Most states excluded slaves and males who had no property or who paid no taxes. Some states even excluded members of certain religious faiths. Gradually, more and more people were given the right to vote. In 1920, with the passage of the 19th amendment which gave women this right, universal suffrage, with a few exceptions, was achieved in the United States.

It may surprise you to know that many American citizens do not exercise their right to vote and to participate in the democratic process. They do not participate for a variety of reasons. In some cases they are unable to meet the legal requirements for voting; in other cases it appears to be lack of interest which keeps voters from the polls. We shall examine this problem more closely in readings 51 and 52.

It is not enough that the turnout of voters be large to insure that it is democratic. A far larger percentage of people regularly vote in elections in the Soviet Union than do in the United States, yet Soviet elections are not considered democratic by our standards. For an election to be truly democratic the voter must have a choice of candidates. If there were no opposition in an election, that is to say, if only one candidate ran for each office, the right to vote would be meaningless. There must be clear alternatives presented to the voters.

How well does the United States meet this requirement? Foreign observers of American politics often argue that our elections give the voters little real choice. They say that there really is no difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties, pointing out that southern Democrats are more conservative than many northern Republicans. These observers maintain that although we keep up the appearance of two parties, in reality there are no significant differences between them.

American political scientists argue that a more sophisticated version of this question should be asked, "How much choice can there be?" One of the significant features of American politics is the amount of agreement that exists. The vast majority of Americans agree about the ends of government however much they may disagree about the means to reach these ends. No deep political splits divide the American population.

For example, almost all Americans agree that although our system may not be perfect, it is the best one for our purposes. They also agree that the church and the state should be separated and that private enterprise should be maintained. No one could get elected in the United States who did not uphold these views.

Moreover, in a two-party system, both parties must appeal to the same voters. If we were to divide the American people on the basis of their political views into three groups called left, center, and right, the majority would fall somewhere in the center group. To be elected, a radical or a conservative must attract middle-of-the-road votes and must moderate his appeal to the voters. This means that an American political leader seeking to gain support must pitch his appeal to where most Americans can be found, in the middle-of-the-road politically. The issues a candidate selects to try to win support are issues he believes most Americans are likely to approve and are not likely, therefore, to be far different from the issues his opponent has selected as the basis for his appeal. In addition to the opportunity for universal participation and the opportunity for choice, the alternatives made by the voters must be binding on the government if an election is to be called democratic. Is this requirement satisfied in American elections?

Elections in the United States give general directives to the government. In 1952, Eisenhower was elected partly to put an end to the fighting in Korea. In 1960, Kennedy was elected partly to "get the country moving again." How Eisenhower was to solve the Korean problem or how Kennedy was to move the country was not decided in the election. It was decided later by the leadership with little direct guidance from the electorate.

The conclusion does not mean, however, that elections have no meaning or that they make no binding political decisions. The very fact that an election decides who will have authority to make governmental decisions is tremendously important. We may disagree with the actions of a particular president or a particular congress. It is our right to disagree. But if the election was honest, we cannot disagree with the leadership's right to make political decisions. The people have given the leaders that right. And if enough people disagree with decisions that are made, the leadership can be voted out of office in the next election. No one in the United States is elected to public office for life (except for judges in some states). Instead, our political leaders are forced to go to their electorate every two, four, or six years to get the people's approval to continue as leaders. Our system demands public approval expressed in regular, formal elections in order for political leaders to remain in office.

Democratic elections, then, not only serve the purpose of choosing political leadership. They are a method, and the only workable method discovered thus far, for allowing all citizens to participate in the process of governing. To be meaningful, they must provide the citizen with real choices, and the choices made by the majority of the citizens must be binding on the government.

In the United States we have not yet fully realized these democratic ideals. In the first place, one group of American citizens, the American Negro, has not had full voting rights. Secondly, in some states one party so predominates, that the voter has little choice except in primary elections. This is true in some southern states where the Democratic Party is almost sure to be elected and in some New England and western states where the Republican Party is in virtual control. Finally, we must admit that if our elections were more issue-oriented, they would give more meaningful directions to the government.

The fault does not lie with the system but with the use we have made of the system. No country has achieved a fully mature democracy. We can say that we are closer to this goal than we were one hundred, or even fifty, years ago.

READING XIX

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

It is clear that political leaders believe that election campaigns are an important technique for attracting political support. Unfortunately, it is not equally certain that the form which political campaigns assume in the United States is flattering either to the intelligence of American voters or to our democratic system of government. Many critics of American election campaigns argue that there is more nonsense than discussion of issues involved with typical campaigns. Kissing babies, shaking hands in supermarkets and outside factory gates, and distributing campaign buttons--all standard procedures in every campaign--have little connection with either the issues dividing the candidates or with their relative competency for the offices they hope to fill.

On the other hand, amid all the hoopla and foolishness, the candidates do speak and often to the issues. While attempting to project the image of friendly and trustworthy man, a candidate also tries to convince the voters that he is the most competent man for the office and has the best approach for solving the problems of government.

For better or for worse, election campaigns have become a permanent fixture in our political life. No serious candidate for political office can afford to ignore this widely-accepted technique for gaining support.

Reading 19 consists of two selections about campaigning. The first describes the attitudes of Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1952 and 1956. Mr. Stevenson is a firm believer in the intelligence of the voter and in the importance of debating issues. The second describes a political campaign conducted in Arkansas by former Senator Huey Long in behalf of his friend Mrs. Hattie Carraway. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How did Stevenson and Long disagree about the function of campaigning? About campaign techniques?
2. Was the difference in technique a function of the political arena, that is, did the techniques differ because one man was engaged in a national election and the other in a state election?
3. What factors work for and against a candidate who would embrace one of these two techniques to the exclusion of the other? Which of the techniques is more likely to be successful?

ADLAI STEVENSON ON CAMPAIGNING *

From: Adlai Stevenson, MAJOR CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON: 1952 (New York, Random House: 1953) xi-xxviii passim.

The late Adlai Stevenson introduced a volume of his speeches with some of his impressions of campaigning for the presidency and with an explanation of his strategy for the 1952 campaign. In this selection Stevenson points out the tremendous pressures imposed upon a presidential candidate, stating that "we have contrived few more exacting ordeals than a presidential campaign." His strategy for the 1952 campaign, he says, was to give twelve or thirteen speeches explaining his position on the more important issues and then debate them with the opposition as they attacked his stand. Stevenson says that the Republican candidate never rose to the bait, however, and the issues were never discussed.

HUEY LONG: CAMPAIGNS IN ARKANSAS *

From Carleton Beals, THE STORY OF HUEY P. LONG (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co.: 1935).

This selection from Beals' biography of the "Kingfish" tells of how he campaigned in Arkansas for his friend, Hattie Carraway. Beals explains how a fleet of seven trucks would go from town to town and set up a meeting place so that Long could deliver his peculiar brand of campaign oratory based on "Share the Wealth" philosophy. Two sound trucks would be dispatched to two different cities each with accompanying vans stuffed full with campaign literature. After Long made his speech in one town, he would proceed to the next where the second truck was already set up. Meanwhile the truck in the first town would dismantle the portable speakers platform and transport it to the third town on Huey's itinerary. Excerpts from Huey's speeches in this selection give the flavor of Long's campaign techniques.

READING XX

WHY DO AMERICANS VOTE AS THEY DO?

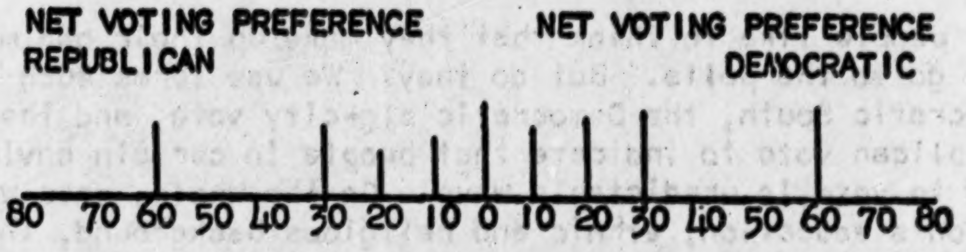
Most people like to think that they make up their own minds when they go to the polls. But do they? We use terms such as the Democratic South, the Democratic big-city vote, and the rural Republican vote to indicate that people in certain environments tend to vote in predictable ways. On the whole, once we know a person's education, ethnic and religious background, income and place of residence and the political preference of his parents we can predict which party he will support most of the time.

There will always be a number of exceptions to the rules. We cannot always predict accurately what any single voter will do even when we have all this information. A man may dislike the nominee of his party in a particular election so much that he will refuse to support him. Similarly the stand of his party on a particular issue may cause him to "cross over" and support the opposition or, perhaps, to fail to vote at all.

Despite exceptions such as these, we can make generalizations about how voters from certain backgrounds will behave. In the reading for today, you will have an opportunity to test the conclusion that peoples' votes are predictable if we know enough about their backgrounds through a questionnaire. You are to interview one adult (perhaps one of your parents), giving him the questionnaire which is printed on pages ___ and ___. When you have completed the questionnaire, ask your respondent whether he voted for the Democratic or the Republican candidate in the last two presidential elections. The answer to this question will help you to evaluate the worth of the questionnaire.

The chart below will help you place your respondent along a scale which indicates how closely he ought in theory to be allied to a particular party.

SCORING CHART


NET VOTING PREFERENCE
REPUBLICAN
NET VOTING PREFERENCE
DEMOCRATIC
80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

Between 60 and 80--almost certain to vote for party indicated.

Between 30 and 60--ten-to-one will vote for party indicated.

Between 20 and 30--better than ever chance will vote for party indicated.

Ten or less either way--an independent or Undecided voter.

VOTING PROFILE *

From Eugene Burdick, "How You'll Vote This Fall," in THIS WEEK MAGAZINE, May 16, 1956.

This selection provides the students with a questionnaire which will help them predict voting behavior. The questionnaire, developed by the late Eugene Burdick, accounts for such factors as parents' political affilations, spouse's political affiliation, age, friends' political affiliations, state where voter lives, the degree to which the voter has cut off ties with the country from which he or his ancestors migrated, ethnic derivation, occupation, and so on.

READING XXI

HOW KENNEDY WON THE PRESIDENCY

In the last five readings we have been studying the ways in which American political leaders win power. Because the United States has a two-party system, most candidates must be nominated by a party to get their names on the ballot. Becoming the nominee of a party and winning support from it is much easier if major interest groups support the candidate. After he is nominated by a party, a candidate must campaign to win the support of voters in an election. During his campaign, he must consider the various factors which tend traditionally to encourage voters to support the candidates of one party or the other. The successful politician must consider all five of these factors--the party, the interest group, the campaign, the election process and the reason why people tend to support his party or that of his opponent--if he expects to win.

Today's reading concerns the way in which former President John Fitzgerald Kennedy won the presidency in 1960. Ten years before, in 1950, almost no one in the United States would have guessed that Kennedy would be president a decade later. Although he was a war hero and a member of Congress, he had almost no following outside the Massachusetts area. Moreover, he was very young and a Roman Catholic. Kennedy's rise to national fame began in 1956 and resulted after four years of very hard work in his nomination and eventually in his election to the presidency. This case study in political success reveals many of the factors which are typical of political action in the United States. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What advantages and disadvantages did Kennedy have in his attempt to win the nomination? How many of Hyman's nine tests could he pass? What strategy did ne adopt?
2. What appeals did Kennedy make to voters? How did he plan his campaign?
3. Why did Kennedy win? What does this victory reveal about the way in which American political leaders gain support?

KENNEDY'S RISE TO POWER

By 1958, it was well-known that John F. Kennedy was available as a candidate for the presidency in the Democratic party. He had become a senator from Massachusetts in 1952 and had had a quick rise to public prominence. In the 1956 Democratic convention he nominated Adlai Stevenson for the presidency and almost won the vice-presidential nomination in a dramatic struggle with Estes Kefauver, a senator from Tennessee. After he lost the nomination for the vice-presidency, he campaigned vigorously for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. In 1957 he won the Pulitzer prize for a book about American politicians, entitled Profiles in Courage. In 1958 he won 73 per cent of the vote in his campaign for reelection to the Senate from Massachusetts. These events helped to establish him as a party regular, as a confirmed vote-getter and as an intelligent thinker and writer. Moreover, since he and his friends controlled the Democratic party machinery in Massachusetts, he had a secure base for political operations.

Kennedy had established a good public image in his years in the Congress. He had not offended any major group of people within American society. On the whole his positions on specific issues were moderately liberal. He had gone on record in favor of aid to education, raising unemployment benefits, loosening immigration quotas, extending economic aid to Poland and strengthening national defenses. None of these positions was likely to offend any major group of voters; some of them might help him with particular groups, such as the Poles.

Kennedy had three handicaps to overcome. The first was that he was a Senator. For more than one hundred years the Democratic party had not nominated a senator for the presidency. Second, he was young and he looked even younger. He would be only 43 in the presidential campaign of 1960. Finally, and most importantly, he was a Roman Catholic. The only other Roman Catholic nominated for the presidency by the Democratic party, Alfred E. Smith, had been beaten badly in 1928. Many people still wondered whether or not a Catholic could be elected President. Despite these three handicaps Kennedy pushed ahead. He devoted almost all of his energy to winning the nomination, far more energy than any of his opponents devoted to this task.

Kennedy drew upon four major resources which proved to be the key to his victory. The first was widespread support from a number of key people. Kennedy mobilized more people to work in his preconvention campaign than any of his major rivals. He divided the country into areas and assigned control of each area to a relative or a close ally. These men then recruited others within each state. In a state like Wisconsin, where Kennedy had a primary fight with Senator Hubert Humphrey, he was able to call on a larger number of experienced personnel than could Humphrey who lived in Wisconsin. Where Humphrey brought in ten top assistants for the West Virginia primary, Kennedy brought in fifty.

Kennedy's second major resource was an excellent organization. His brother, Robert Kennedy, had worked closely with Adlai Stevenson in the 1956 presidential campaign. Between 1956 and 1960, he had built up an extensive file of information about politicians and influential supporters in every state of the Union. This careful organization enabled the Kennedy campaign leaders to know exactly what their job was. In each area they assigned men to such tasks as press relations, speeches, policy statements, fund-raising and public opinion polling. The Kennedys had a beautifully organized political machine.

The third major factor in Kennedy's favor was money. Kennedy spent almost four times as much money on the campaign as any of his four major opponents. This campaign chest--about $1 million--enabled him to buy television time in key primaries, such as the one in West Virginia, and to employ people to run the campaign well.

Kennedy's fourth major resource was his general popularity and a favorable public image. In 1959 he steadily pulled ahead in public opinion polls as the leading candidate for the Democratic party. He was young and attractive. In the four years between 1956 and 1960, he spoke to more Democratic party gatherings than any other important Democrat in the entire nation. This widespread popular support was a mark in his favor.

In order to win votes at the Democratic convention, Kennedy, like all other candidates, had to decide on his major strategy. There are three major ways to win votes in a convention. The first is by entering primary contests to win the support of delegates through a direct election. A second method is through factional struggles within states, that is, by supporting one group within a party which is contending with another group for power. The third means is to negotiate with prominent party leaders to win votes by getting them to influence the votes of delegates. Kennedy employed all three of these tactics. He entered seven primaries and won them all, getting a total of 134 convention votes by this process. By winning the West Virginia primary he demonstrated his ability to carry a heavily Protestant state. At the same time, his supporters worked within states such as New York where the party leadership was divided and won a number of votes for Kennedy by this fashion. Finally, in states where the party was unified, Kennedy dealt directly with the leaders. By this device he won the support of Ohio, California, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Because he worked so hard and his campaign was so well organized, Kennedy was nominated on the first ballot at the convention by a wide majority. This was the first step in his race for the presidency.

As soon as the convention was over, Kennedy took steps to heal the wounds which the primary campaigns and the convention itself had opened. He took the first step at the convention by securing the nomination of Lyndon Baines Johnson for the vice-presidency. A southerner, Johnson could assure the Democratic party of the southern vote and give Kennedy time to concentrate on the modwest and the northeast. Kennedy either visited major figures in the party, such as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, or sent some of his most prominent supporters to see them. In this way he rallied important Democrats to his cause.

Beginning in late August, Kennedy began a series of speeches to clarify his position on major policy issues such as foreign affairs, social security, agriculture and labor. These issues did not play a vital part in the campaign. Far more important was the general impression he made on the voters and the image he projected to the public. He tried to transform his handicap--youth--into an advantage--vigor. And he stressed over and over again the need to "get the country moving again."

Kennedy's religion was a major stumbling block in his campaign. Here he was initially on the defensive; he had to meet the issue of his Catholicism head on. In a speech to 300 Protestant ministers in Houston, Texas, in September, he made a clearcut and definite statement of his belief in the separation of church and state. In the end, however, religion probably did Kennedy more harm than good. It is true that he attracted back to the Democratic party many Catholics who had supported Eisenhower, but at the same time he lost many normally Democratic voters in southern and border states. His strategy--meeting the issue head-on--probably saved him some votes he might otherwise have lost.

The key to Kennedy's campaign lay in the four television debates which he had with the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon. Kennedy was less well known than Nixon, and he labored under the handicap of youth and inexperience. The debates were a major Kennedy triumph. They placed him on a footing of equality with Nixon and gave him an opportunity to demonstrate that he was just as well informed and mature as the Vice President himself. They helped to minimize Nixon's campaign appeal on the basis of experience. More than three million voters reportedly decided how to vote on the basis of these debates. A substantial majority of them voted for Kennedy.

To win a majority of seats in the electoral college, Kennedy had to win the large northeastern and midwestern industrial states. Here the Democratic party machines were strong, labor unions were well organized and there were many Catholics. The Kennedy organization identified nine large states which accounted for 237 of the

269 electoral votes necessary to win. The states were Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Texas and California. Kennedy concentrated his campaign in these states. The Democrats made their biggest effort to increase registration and voting participation there. Because the Democrats are identified with low income groups whose members sometimes fail to vote, the Democrats usually benefit from a large turnout. All together, six million more voters turned out in 1960 than had in 1956, certainly a benefit to Kennedy.

The election was remarkably close. Kennedy received 49.7 per cent of the popular vote and Nixon received 49.6 per cent. The remainder went to minor candidates. Kennedy won 303 electoral votes and Nixon 219. Kennedy's strategy of concentrating in the northeast and middle west paid off. He won 134 votes in New England and the middle Atlantic states, while Nixon won 12. He also carried the south and the border states by large majorities--81 to 33 and 30 to 17 respectively. The candidates split the middle west--50 votes for Nixon and 47 for Kennedy. In the 21 non-southern states west of the Mississippi, Nixon overwhelmed Kennedy 114 votes to 34. Of his nine key states, Kennedy carried seven losing only Ohio and California and these by narrow margins. It was the closest election in division of popular votes between the major parties since 1888.

Kennedy's victory in 1960 illustrates a number of rules about success in American politics. First, capture control of the party. Second, do not offend major interest groups and if possible, enlist their support. Third, decide upon a campaign strategy, considering all the factors involved, such as why people vote the way they do. Fourth, in the election itself, be sure that there is a heavy registration and a large turnout in areas and among interest groups which are likely to support the candidate. These are the rules of American politics.

READING XXII

HOW AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS MAINTAIN SUPPORT

The need for support does not end when an American political leader is elected to office. He is constantly driven to maintain the support of the voters who elected him and to build additional support. This activity is necessary not only to make him a more effective officeholder, but also to launch a campaign for re-election. Members of the House of Representatives who stand for election every two years and who are therefore always in a campaign for re-election, must be particularly careful to "mend their fences" in this way. A political leader needs two kinds of support. In the first place, he must retain the support of the political party that helped to elect him to office. He must consult regularly with party leaders and heed their advice about legislation, appointments, and many other matters. Governors and presidents who are usually the leaders of their parties, try to place men who are sympathetic to them in key party positions.

A political leader also requires a second kind of support: the active sympathy of the general public. To this end he must constantly look for ways to keep himself in the public eye. It is impossible for him to maintain the public interest which was generated during the election campaign, but a leader keeps his name in the public eye through newspaper, radio, and television publicity.

Of all our political leaders, the President of the United States has the greatest advantage in the competition for public attention. A corps of White House reporters are assigned to record his every word. When he wishes to speak directly to the American people, the television networks immediately cancel programs in order to give him the time he needs. No other politician has the same advantages; other political leaders must compete with sports, movies, T.V. and a hundred other diversions to win the attention of the American voter.

The problem of holding the interest of the American voter and keeping his support is therefore a difficult one for American political leaders at all levels. It is not surprising to learn that some rather ingenious techniques have been developed to solve this problem. In the selection which follows you will discover a number of ways in which members of Congress have learned to create favorable publicity. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What evidence can you find to indicate that Congressmen are concerned about publicity? Why is publicity so important to American political leaders? To the well-being of our political system?
2. Why is it unusual to read harsh criticism of individual Congressmen in our newspapers?
3. Why would the films described in the second reading be useful to a Congressman?

GOVERNMENT BY PUBLICITY *

* From Douglas Cater, "Government by Publicity," in THE REPORTER, March 19, 1959 and April 2, 1959; "Every Congressman a Television Star" in THE REPORTER, June 16, 1955.

The two articles by Douglas Cater explain how congressmen publicize their activities in Washington. Cater points out that Congress has provided excellent facilities for the use of the press, and that congressmen often go to great lengths to please reporters. Returning favor for favor, congressmen willingly share information with reporters in exchange for favorable publicity. Cater also describes the efforts of the Republican Congressional Committee to prepare elaborate television programs with congressmen as the stars. By manipulating sound tracks and film the Republican congressman can be seen on a television program interviewing a cabinet member or other important official without even having met the man.

READING XXIII

WHEN LEADERS LOSE SUPPORT

During the past two weeks we have studied the techniques by which political leaders gain and maintain support. We have examined the ways in which political parties and interest groups contribute to the support of American political leaders and specifically how one man, John F. Kennedy, used all of the avenues open to him to get elected to the presidency.

It would be inappropriate, however, to leave this unit without taking a look at what happens when American political leaders lose support. When we think of it, it is perfectly obvious that for each political leader who gains support, one or more other men have lost. In our society, political power is desired by many but achieved by only a relative few. Furthermore, once having attained a leadership position, one cannot be assured he will hold it for long. American voters are often fickle and quickly desert one leader to embrace another.

What happens in the government and what happens to those political leaders who have led and lost? Is there a home for tired, old political leaders to which all are retired? In the reading which follows you will have the opportunity to study these and other questions. As you read, keep the following issues in mind:

1. In what branch of government is the turnover of political leaders the greatest?
2. What advantages and disadvantages are there in a turnover of political leadership?
3. Do you think our political system makes adequate provision for a large-scale turnover of personnel?
4. What do former political leaders do having lost their political positions?
5. According to Senator Neuberger what special frustrations are experienced by former political leaders?

LOSING SUPPORT IN A DEMOCRACY

In 1952, the Republican party seized power after twenty years of Democratic control of the national government. It caused a tremendous upheavel, although a peaceful one. Thousands of former office-holders lost their jobs to Republican party regulars eager to taste the rewards that accompany an election victory. Hundreds of Democrats filled their brief cases, cleared off their desks, and left their offices for the last time. In spite of the bitterness of defeat, there was no suggestion of a revolution. No Democrats seized guns and barricaded themselves in their offices to fight off those sent to replace them. The Republican takeover was quite legal, and the Democrats bowed, however reluctantly, to their fate.

How different this change-over is from that which often occurs elsewhere. In some countries a new party upon coming to power immediately sets out to purge its enemies. On this basis, in 1952, President Eisenhower should have sent troops either to shoot or to imprison Adlai Stevenson and Harry Truman, the acknowledged leaders of the Democratic party. But no purges occurred, and no lives were lost as a result of the election, regardless of the impact it may have had on specific individuals.

While the change of leaders which took place in 1952 was uncommon in its scope, there is, of course, an on-going turnover of political leaders in the United States. This is especially true in the administrative departments which often attract people who remain in government service only for a brief period. Still others are discharged while others are hired to take their places. This brings a constant flow of new people into government to fill key appointive positions. And many career personnel in government shift from one department to another as needs for their special talents occur. This kind of turnover in government is healthful as it assures a constant stream of new leaders who can be trained and prepared for more difficult positions while attracting new ideas to government service from bright young men and women.

Of more dubious value is the American custom of making a complete turnover in administration such as occurs when one party gives way to another. While it is true that a complete change may have some advantages in bringing a fresh, new approach to the government, it also has the disadvantage of requiring a break-in period for the new leaders who are able to do little more in the first few months in office than learn what their jobs require. General Eisenhower had no political experience to prepare him for the presidency and while Senator Kennedy had more political experience, he was hardly trained as a president, nor was he even considered a national leader before he was named as the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Few systems are so ill-equipped to make a rapid and wholesale turnover as ours, and yet do it so easily and peacefully.

The problem of turnover is not nearly so critical among our political leaders in the legislatures. Legislative leadership usually rests upon seniority. A legislator is not normally chosen as floor leader or committee chairman until he has had many years of service in the legislature. When there is a shift of party control in the legislature, new chairmen will be selected for the committees, but these will be men who have had years of experience on their respective committees.

Neither is the problem of turnover great within the party organizations. Party organizers such as city and state party chairmen reach such positions only after years of experience and of loyal service to the party. Once in power they are not quickly turned out.

What happens to our political leaders after they have lost support and have been discarded by the American voter? Many find positions in business. As a result of the contacts they developed during their political life, former political leaders are valuable assets to large corporations that must deal regularly with the government. Others become lobbyists for special interest groups. They take advantage of friends both in the executive and legislative branches to further the interests of special groups. Some, who are attorneys, return to the practice of law. The publicity aroused by their public life may make their practices far more lucrative than they were before they ran for office. Many political leaders--especially legislators--combine their practice of law with their work in the legislature as the latter contributes to the success of the former.

But once having experienced the challenges and glamor of political leadership, many find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the more modest demands and excitement of non-political life and continue to dream of a return to power. A description of this attitude is contained in the reading by Senator Richard L. Neuberger printed below.*

* From Richard L. Neuberger, "I Run for Office," in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, February, 1947.

In this selection the late senator from Oregon describes the life of officeholders who are defeated. He explains that they continue to try to come back, but they seldom do. Most find it impossible to leave the capitals where decisions are made, and upon defeat, attempt to find a job which will keep them near the seat of decision-making. Neuberger compares defeated politicians to Ring Lardner's description of former star athletes, "the most pathetic people he knew."

UNIT VI GAINING AND MAINTAINING SUPPORT IN THE USSR

STATING THE ISSUE

In Unit V we studied the ways in which American political leaders win and hold support. The problem of support is important to leaders in non-democratic societies as well. No leader, however wise and physically courageous, can rule long without the support of those people he controls. In the next four readings we will study how leaders gain and maintain support in the Soviet Union. The way in which this is done offers striking parallels to practices in the United States. Like their counterparts in the United States, leaders in the Soviet Union use a political party, special groups, elections and mass communication to create the bases for their leadership. You will learn, however, that these practices and institutions adopt somewhat different forms than those in the United States.

Nevertheless, the problem of support is no less real to Soviet leaders than it is to American politicians. Khrushchev became the first secretary of the Communist Party and the Premier of the USSR because he understood how such support could be achieved; he retains leadership because he regularly mends his political fences.

What are the principal ways in which leaders gain support in the USSR? To what extent does this support rest on a small group as opposed to the mass of Soviet people? In what ways are the institutions and practices for gaining and maintaining support similar to or different from those in the United States? These are the issues we will study in Readings 24 through 27.

READING XXIV

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In Reading XVI, you learned that the main purpose of American political parties is to win political support for American politicians. The Russian Communist Party performs the same function for Soviet political leaders. In fact, the Communist Party is far more important in the Soviet Union than either the Republican or Democratic Party in the United States. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party has a monopoly on political activity for it is the only political organization recognized as legal by the Soviet Constitution.

Although the Soviet Communist Party and American political parties have the same primary function, you will learn that they differ sharply in a number of ways. These differences and how they affect politics in the Soviet Union is the basic theme of the Reading for today. While studying how the Soviet party operates, you should also look for ways in which Soviet political leaders can use the party to increase their own power.

In one way the American and Russian party systems are remarkably alike. As the American party system bears the indelible mark of the American political tradition, so, too, has the Russian Communist party been permanently stamped by its own past. The Russian Communist party was born at the turn of the century in a country which had no use for political participation by the general public. The Russian autocratic tsar was above politics, and, therefore, all political parties prior to 1905 were illegal and all political activity subversive. Hence, those political parties which managed to survive in Russia did so by becoming underground parties.

One such party was the Bolshevik (Majority) faction of the Social Democratic party. The Bolsheviks, led by Nikolai Lenin, split from the Social Democratic party in 1903 over the question of tactics. Under Lenin's guidance, the Bolshevik party, which was the forerunner of the present-day Russian Communist party, became an elite party, accepting as members only those individuals who were willing to sacrifice all personal gain for the good of the party they championed. This party was to be the "vanguard" of the working class, that is, it was to make the workers conscious of their miserable existence and to train them for revolutionary struggle. Only the most dedicated workers, however, were permitted to join the party itself. This concept of a "vanguard party" acting in the name of, and in the interests of the working class has continued to characterize the Communist party of today.

In yet another way the Communist party reflects its past. From its beginnings, the party has had an overriding concern for ideology. Not only did the Bolsheviks view non-Marxists as their enemies, but they also fought against those Marxists who refused to follow Lenin's leadership. Therefore, a test of faith for a Bolshevik or a modern-day Communist has been to place absolute trust in the interpretations of the great leader whether it has been Lenin, Stalin, or Khrushchev.

The following questions should aid in your analysis of the Communist party and its comparison to the American party system.

1. Is there a difference in attitude toward political activity by full-time party workers in the United States as compared to their counterparts in the USSR? How do non-full-time party members view the professional politicians in each country?

2. Why does the Russian party deliberately attempt to restrict membership while the major American political parties seek always to get more members?

3. Do you see a difference in commitment by Russian Communist party members as opposed to Democrats and Republicans in the United States? If so, give evidence to support your conclusion, and explain why you believe the one-party member has a deeper commitment than his counterpart in the other country.

4. Why is it vital for a Russian political leader to have the support of the Communist Party?

THE 8,708,000 'ELITE' OF RUSSIA*

In this article Frankel describes the process by which a man becomes a member of the Communist Party and thus opens the door to future advancement in Soviet society. Frankel points out that because the Communist Party regulates every aspect of life in the Soviet Union, becoming a member of the Party is essential to individual advancement. The author explains that a man or woman is first selected by the Party because he or she excels in a field outside the Party--as a lathe operator, or physicist, or the like. Once selected, the individual becomes a candidate member for a year, learning the credo to which he must subscribe. Finally he is admitted to full status, and can then move up through the ranks as he pleases his superiors.

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* From Max Frankel, "The 8,708,000 'Elite' of Russia" in NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, May 29, 1960, 9, 48, 49.

READING XXV

THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS

We have learned that elections in the United States serve many purposes, not the least of which is the opportunity for individual citizens to indicate their approval or disapproval of current officeholders. In the USSR as in the United States, elections serve to gain and to maintain support for political leaders. Soviet citizens are encouraged to vote and do so in large numbers.

Americans have generally looked upon Soviet elections with considerable skepticism. However, it may come as a surprise to many of you that Russians are not convinced that American elections are totally democratic either. Communists often charge that an American presidential election is nothing more than the chance given to the working class every four years to help decide which of the two major parties will take advantage of it for the next four years. Secondly, since only about half of the eligible voters care enough to vote on election day in the United States and only 51 per cent of the votes cast is needed for a candidate to win, it often means that the winner is the choice of a minority of eligible voters. The Russians, on the other hand, point with pride to the very high percentage of voters who cast ballots on election day and the almost unanimous vote of confidence the official nominee receives from the Soviet populace.

In this lesson you will study how and why elections are held in the USSR. You will detect significant differences in the Soviet election procedure when compared to that of our own. This may lead you to believe that there are also differences in purpose behind Soviet elections. Why Soviet elections are held and what objectives they satisfy in Russian political and social life, will be studied in today's lesson.

As you read the selection, consider the following questions:

1. How is one nominated for office in the USSR? Contrast this procedure to nomination procedures in the United States.
2. What type of people are nominated for public office? Must a candidate be a Communist party member?
3. In the United States election results are frequently interpreted as indicators of public approval or disapproval of specific administrative policies. Do elections serve the same purpose in the USSR?
4. In what ways do Soviet elections contribute to gaining and maintaining support for Soviet political leaders?

WHY THE RUSSIANS BOTHER WITH ELECTIONS *

* From R. M. Scammon, "Why the Russians Bother with Elections," in NEW YORK TIMES, April 6, 1958, VI, 14+.

Scammon explains that elections in Russia serve the purpose of obtaining popular endorsement of the regime and for paying honor to the candidates who usually are those who have "made outstanding contributions to building socialism." Candidates are nominated by local party organizations. They may come from the Party or not. But all are enthusiastic supporters of the regime. As Scammon concludes his article, the Soviet election encourages each participant to "commit himself a bit more to the Communist way of life."

READING XXVI

HOW KHRUSHCHEV BECAME THE RULER OF THE USSR

In Reading XXI we studied the way in which John F. Kennedy used all the political resources at his disposal to become President of the United States. In the reading for today we will discover how Khrushchev used his political talent to exploit the resources available to him to become the undisputed leader of the USSR. Although Kennedy's and Khrushchev's rise to power seem similar in many ways, there are sharp and fundamental differences. The form appears to be the same, but the content is quite different.

Not all Soviet leaders reach the top in the same way. Although Khrushchev's success story is somewhat different from Lenin's and Stalin's before him, still there is much in Khrushchev's case to illustrate how leaders win and retain support in the USSR. Who Khrushchev's successor will be and how he will gain power is not known, but it is certain that he will have to cope with forces and obstacles similar to those that confronted Khrushchev.

Reconstructing Khrushchev's rise to power presents greater problems than was the case with President Kennedy. Many of the obstacles that Khrushchev had to overcome and the tactics he used are not easily known to an outsider. Scholars do not have information about the inner workings of the Soviet government such as they have about the American political system. Therefore, much of what follows is reconstructed from bits of evidence and the opinions of Soviet specialists. Details are often lacking because the facts necessary to reconstruct specific circumstances are not available. In broad outlines, however, the picture which develops should provide insight into the general operation of the Soviet political system.

As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What was the first obstacle to Khrushchev's rise to power and how was it overcome?
2. To what special groups did Khrushchev direct his appeals? Did these groups change over time?
3. In what organization did Khrushchev base his strength?
4. In summary, what techniques did Khrushchev use in his rise to power?

KHRUSHCHEV'S RISE TO POWER*

In March, 1953, Josef Stalin died after a quarter century of undisputed control of the USSR. During this time Stalin ruled much as he pleased. The Party apparatus, the army, the police, and the government structure were at his beck and call. He passed new legislation when he chose; he removed enemies and appointed friends at will. While Stalin was alive, political success depended more upon pleasing Stalin than upon any other factor. When he died, he left no clear successor. In the Soviet political system a struggle for the succession must immediately follow the death of the leader.

Of all those in line to succeed Stalin, the least likely to win in 1953 seemed to be Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev. Khrushchev had little formal education. His grandfather had been a serf; his parents were poverty-stricken peasants. Khrushchev himself worked for a time in the Donbass coal mines. He did not join the Communist Party until after the revolution in 1918, and then began a slow rise within the hierarchy of the Communist Party. In 1938 he was appointed as candidate member and the next year a full member of the Politburo.** In 1953 Khrushchev was fifty-nine years old. He seemed too old, too crude, and too concerned with the details of party operations to pose a serious challenge for top leadership.

Upon Stalin's death, an effort was made to divide responsibilities in such a way that no one individual had a strangle-hold on the entire system. Georgi Malenkov, who seemed more than any other to be Stalin's likely successor, became Premier but yielded the Communist Party Secretaryship to Khrushchev. Lavrentia Beria retained control of the dreaded secret police, a position he held under Stalin.

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* Many of the ideas contained in this case are adapted from Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel P. Huntington, Political Power: USA/USSR. New York: The Viking Press, 1964.

** In 1938 the Politburo was highest policy-making branch of the Communist Party. In 1952 it was dissolved and its functions assumed by a new organ called the Presidium.

V.M. Molotov kept control of foreign affairs, and L.M. Kaganovich took charge of heavy industry. This was supposed to result in collegial rule, a kind of rule by committee in which no one man held a dominant position over the others.

Such a system was inherently unstable. Each man began to maneuver to strengthen his own position, convinced that this was exactly what the others were doing also. The one man who all had most to fear was Lavrentia Beria, the head of the secret police. His spies were everywhere; furthermore, the NKVD army (secret police army) was under Beria's personal control. The first task of the collective leadership was to destroy Beria.

Joseph C. Harsch, a special correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, has described what happened based upon reports circulated in Europe in 1961.

> Beria commanded the NKVD (secret police) which provided the guards at the Kremlin and also the drivers and servants for all the others--the other collegial leaders--and tapped the telephones of the others. To talk they had to meet on street corners by apparent chance. However, they all agreed that Beria must go.
>
> . . . .
>
> On June 10, the plot had reached the point where the conspiracy included the No. 2 man in the NKVD who sent the four divisions out of Moscow in Beria's absence and replaced them with regular Army divisions. But he dared not remove the NKVD guards from the Kremlin itself. Add that Beria was the only member of the Politburo allowed to carry a gun into the Kremlin. All others were searched for weapons. On June 10, a meeting was called with plans fully matured. Four Army generals were placed in the next room.
>
> A bell button was put under the table. Beria came in. Khrushchev opened by asking Beria how he had survived an episode in Stalin's time when he had been accused in Stalin's presence and the accuser had disappeared. Beria said he smelled a conspiracy and reached for his brief case. Khrushchev had meanwhile removed the gun. Beria went white, Georgi Malenkov fumbled for the bell, Khrushchev reached over and pushed it. The problem, according to Khrushchev, was settled then and there and Beria's body was smuggled out of the Kremlin past the NKVD guards*.

* Christian Science Monitor, November 22, 1961.

With the removal of Beria and the annihilation of others in the top leadership of the secret police, the leaders were now more free to maneuver without fear of violence. The struggle for power was destined to take a more political route; the one who would succeed would be the one with the greatest resources and political skill.

For the next two years, Khrushchev concentrated on three issues to enhance his position: the need for a new agricultural policy; defense of the traditional emphasis on heavy industry; and a "hard" policy in foreign affairs.

Khrushchev's policy on agriculture was especially appropriate. He knew more about agriculture than any other issue. He had had experience serving in the Ukraine, Russia's bread-basket, and he had frequently suggested proposals to Stalin in the field of agriculture. Besides, agriculture was the most serious domestic problem in Russia at the time of Stalin's death. Khrushchev strengthened Party control over the collective farms, and appointed Party members to key posts. These new appointees would not forget their debt to Khrushchev. Khrushchev also boldly launched a scheme to plow up former grassland in the province of Kazakhstan and turn it into agriculture land, a proposal opposed by many. Unusually favorable rains brought good harvests in the first years of the Kazakhstan "new lands" venture and added to Khrushchev's image as an authority on agriculture.

Khrushchev's emphasis on heavy industry also won him allies among the managers of heavy industry and the Soviet army which was interested in further defense production. In contrast, the premier Georgi Malenkov went on record as favoring an increase in consumer goods to lighten the burden on Soviet citizens. Malenkov's interest in more consumer goods forced him to adopt a more conciliatory position in foreign affairs while Khrushchev consistently spoke about the need for Russia to remain strong while rejecting the notion that nuclear war would mean the end of the world.

Therefore, by a skillful choice of issues Khrushchev successfully advanced his own position while isolating that of his chief rival, Malenkov. By early 1955, Khrushchev had so undermined Malenkov that he was forced to resign as premier. His successor was Marshal N.A. Bulganin, a friendly but ineffective bureaucrat, who announced immediately after his appointment that the government apparatus must be subordinate to the Party, Khrushchev's stronghold.

By late 1955 Khrushchev appeared more and more as the man to watch. He now shifted his policies and began to move more boldly. In the field of foreign policy he changed from a "hard line" to one which offered peaceful coexistance with the West. He set out to re-establish ties with Communist Yugoslavia, a link destroyed by Stalin's action in 1948. Both of these policies served to alienate men like Molotov who had been closely identified with the "hard line" toward the West and the break with Yugoslavia.

In February, 1956, Khrushchev made his boldest move of all. In a secret speech given to the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party he launched a bitter attack on the dead Stalin. This served to split the top leaders into two groups: Those who were closely identified with Stalin and realized that repudiation of him meant also a repudiation of themselves and those who wished to end for all time the terror which was associated with the Stalin period. In particular Khrushchev's action against Stalinism won him the support of intellectuals and younger members of the Communist Party.

Partly as a result of Khrushchev's policies and partly for other reasons, resistance to Russian control developed in 1956 among the East European satellites, especially in Poland and Hungary. In Poland the problem was settled peacefully; in Hungary, the resistance grew into a revolution which ended only after it was crushed by Soviet tanks. As Khrushchev's policies were believed largely responsible for the resistance in the satellite countries, Khrushchev came under heavy attack in the winter of 1956-1957. By June, 1957, the lines were drawn. Khrushchev's enemies concluded that they must do something to stop Khrushchev; this meant his removal from the Presidium.

Joseph C. Harsch has described what took place from the bits of evidence that are available.

> By June of 1957 Khrushchev's stock was low. There occurred a decisive meeting of the Politburo (Presidium). The vote was first five to six in Khrushchev's favor; then Dimtri T. Shepilov switched, making it six to five demanding Khrushchev's resignation.
>
> Mrs. Y.S. Furtseva succeeded in making a telephone call to the secretary of the Moscow party and informed him that a coup d'etat was taking place inside, and it was up to him to try to save the day. He gathered all possible members of the full Central Committee, even getting the Army to fly some in from distant places by jet fighters.

> Late that night when Red Square was empty, some 80 members of the committee gathered in front of the Kremlin main gate and demanded admission. They were refused, but word was sent in to the meeting inside, and Khrushchev made the point that someone ought to go out and explain what was happening, and why the supposedly top political authority in the land was denied admittance to the Kremlin.
>
> The others reluctantly agreed and proposed to send out Malenkov and Khrushchev. Khrushchev held out for Nikolai A. Bulganin, who controlled the Kremlin guard. The two went out. Khrushchev called for a show of hands, counted the number which he said was a legal quorum of the Central Committee, and then turned to Bulganin and said perhaps Comrade Bulganin would like to explain why the quorum of the committee was denied access to the Kremlin. Bulganin caved under this maneuver, the committee was admitted, and the vote went decisively for Khrushchev.*

Although it is impossible to verify the details of the above account, it appears to be generally accurate. Khrushchev's position at First Secretary of the Communist Party had enabled him to build strong support in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. When the vote went against him in the Presidium, he simply refused to resign and caused the issue to be decided in the Central Committee. This presumably broke the back of Khrushchev's opposition. In the months that followed Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Shepilov were stripped of their posts and expelled from the Central Committee. Others believed to be implicated in the coup against Khrushchev were ultimately dropped as well. In 1958 Bulganin resigned as Premier and Khrushchev took that post along with his role as First Secretary of the Communist Party. By 1958 it was clear to all observers that collegial rule had ended and that Khrushchev was the undisputed leader of the USSR.

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* Christian Science Monitor, November 22, 1961.

READING XXVII

HOW SOVIET LEADERS MAINTAIN PUBLIC SUPPORT

In the previous reading about the rise of Khrushchev to power we learned that Khrushchev's success depended more on his ability to control sources of power than on public approval. This does not mean, however, that Soviet leaders are uninterested in public approval and support. Quite the contrary! Soviet political leaders work at least as hard to gain and to maintain public support for the Soviet regime and in turn for themselves as the American Congressman you read about in Reading 22.

The Soviet political system is often described as totalitarian. A totalitarian government is one which is able to maintain total control over its society. Therefore, molding public opinion is of first importance to Soviet leaders. This means that what Soviet citizens read, see, and hear are all directed by the Soviet regime in order to control as far as possible what Soviet citizens will think. No other government works as hard with so little competition to have its positions presented and accepted by the Soviet public.

Precisely how this is done is the subject of the reading that follows. As you read, keep in mind the following questions:

1. To what extent does Soviet rule depend upon advanced technology? What techniques of mass persuasion used in the USSR would be adaptable to a country without advanced technology?

2. How does the basic purpose behind Soviet techniques of communication vary from that in this country?

3. In order for the Soviet system to operate smoothly and efficiently, is it more important that the public be aware of alternative policies on major political questions or to know only the one which the leaders have chosen? Would your answer be the same if this question were posed about the United States?

4. How does mass communication aid Soviet leaders in maintaining support? How much does it contribute to an individual leader's bid to gain support?

MOBILIZING PUBLIC OPINION IN SOVIET RUSSIA *

* From Alex Inkeles, "Mobilizing Public Opinion," in Alex Inkeles and Kent Geiger, eds., SOVIET SOCIETY: A BOOK OF READINGS (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.:1961), 219-228 *passim*.

Inkeles' article states that all communications are subject to the Ministry of Culture, which uses newspapers, plays, cinema, and books to propagandize the Communist regime. Inkeles points out that the Soviets believe that art and literature should not be judged by its aesthetic merit but by its ability to "organize the thoughts and feelings of the audience in a...proletarian direction."

UNIT VII: CONTROLLING POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION

STATING THE ISSUE

We have been studying the characteristics of political leaders and the ways in which they gain and maintain support in the United States and the Soviet Union. In Unit VII we will examine the formal rules and the informal checks which help to govern the behavior of political leaders in these two countries.

All societies have leaders, but leaders in different societies do not act in the same way. Leaders behave essentially as their culture requires them to behave. In a society where difference of opinion is tolerated and skill in debate is admired, leaders are more likely to use persuasion to gain their objectives. In a society where difference of opinion is not acceptable and persuasion is not the usual method of getting things done, leaders are more likely to employ force and coercion. We can expect Soviet and American leaders to behave differently because they live in different political environments. Both groups of leaders, however, must deal with the same four kinds of restrictions or controls on their leadership. These are formal rules, such as constitutions and laws; informal rules which include folkways, mores, and customs; ideology; and ethics.

In the readings that follow you will have the opportunity to observe how American and Soviet leaders react to these controls and to study the ways in which the controls actually work in each political system. How formal and informal rules limit and direct the activities of Soviet and American leaders is the primary issue you should keep in mind as you study Readings twenty-eight through thirty-one.

READING XXVIII

HOW DO FORMAL RULES AFFECT SOVIET AND AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS?

In every modern society government is regulated and controlled by a body of formal rules. In constitutional governments, the constitution both directs and restricts leaders. It determines what laws may be passed and what new activities may be undertaken by the government. In a constitutional regime, leaders may do only those things that the constitution will permit.

Not all societies having constitutions, however, may be properly called constitutional regimes. In some cases, a society has a constitution that is only a symbol of democratic or constitutional government. It hides what the leaders are doing. In such cases the leaders may be operating quite independently of the constitution; the constitution does not bind them nearly so closely as it would in truly constitutional regimes.

The United States is an example of a true constitutional regime. The United States has a constitution, and American leaders are bound by the terms of that constitution. When the President takes the oath of office, for example, he promises to uphold and to defend the Constitution--and he can be discharged from office if he fails to do so. Our Constitution specifically states what activities are within the province of the federal government and what activities are left to the states. Our Congress, therefore, cannot pass legislation which infringes on the prerogatives of the states. And our states cannot act in fields such as foreign relations because the Constitution gives power over foreign affairs to the federal government. Where conflicts arise, as they frequently do, the courts intervene to interpret the Constitution and to decide whether a specific act of the Congress or state legislature is constitutional or not.

The Soviet Union's government may not properly be described as a constitutional government. While the Soviet Union does have a constitution, Soviet leaders are not always bound by its provisions. The Soviet constitution seems to have been established --primarily as evidence to Russians and outsiders that the Soviet regime is democratic even if it is not.

In the reading that follows, you will learn some of the ways in which American and Soviet leaders are bound, or are not bound, by their respective constitutions. Specifically, we shall look at procedures for amending the constitutions, the issue of sovereignty, the relationship of political parties to the constitutions, constitutional guarantees of individual rights, and the separation of power provided by the two constitutions. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. In what specific ways are Soviet leaders able to avoid the terms of the Soviet constitution?
2. Are formal rules more or less important in determining the conduct of Soviet leaders as compared to American political leaders?
3. What determines whether a regime is a constitutional one or not? Of what importance is it to the political leaders? To the individual citizens?

THE FORMAL SETTING FOR POLITICAL LEADERS

Constitutions which are written in one age may not fit the needs of a society a century or so later. This problem can be avoided in two major ways. The constitution may be written in such general terms that it can be interpreted or applied differently at different times. As new conditions arise, the constitution may be interpreted to fit the new conditions. Another way to provide for new conditions is to write the constitution so that it may be amended to better fit the current situation. The American Constitution is distinguished by both of these characteristics. The American Constitution was written in general rather than specific terms and provides a form of government by which the leaders may interpret its provisions in the light of the times. In addition our Constitution provides for amendments. A vote by two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress followed by the approval of three-fourths of the states is required to alter the document. It has been amended twenty-four times.

The Soviet constitution is stated in terms far more specific than ours. Therefore, it seems to bind its leaders to its terms more than American political leaders are bound to their Constitution. The Soviet constitution does provide for amending procedures, however. According to article 146 of the Soviet constitution, a two-thirds majority vote of both houses of the Supreme Soviet (the Russian equivalent of our Congress) is sufficient to change the constitution. This provision has not been particularly important. In the first place, voting in the Supreme Soviet has been largely unanimous. Therefore, there is really no trick to getting the two-thirds majority. Secondly, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has several times amended the Constitution by decree, and the amendment has taken effect before its subsequent ratification.

For example, new ministries were established in the years 1941 and 1945, and were fully operating as a result of the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, although the constitution was not changed to permit the new ministries until March, 1946. On October 10, 1945, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet published a decree which changed the minimum age at which a deputy could be elected to the Supreme Soviet from 18 to 23, thereby amending article 135 of the constitution. However, the 1946 elections which were conducted with this decree in effect resulted in a Supreme Soviet which had to ratify the constitutional change leading to its own election.

It is clear that formal rules of the Soviet constitution have not affected the leaders at all. When the leaders have chosen to act, they have acted without reference to the constitution. While the Presidium cannot amend the constitution, the decrees which it publishes have the same effect as a constitutional amendment. Once these decrees are in operation, it is only a matter of formality to approve these decrees in the Supreme Soviet and amend the constitution accordingly. Even the Council of Ministers has ignored the constitution on occasion. For instance, Article 121 of the 1936 constitution guaranteed free secondary and higher education. In 1940, a ministerial order introduced fees. For seven years educational fees were charged in violation of the constitution. Finally, the Supreme Soviet amended Article 121 to bring it into line with the practice.

Another issue that arises in discussions of constitutions is the issue of sovereignty. The sovereign power of the state is the highest, or supreme power in that state. There can be only one sovereign power; all levels of government cannot be equally sovereign. In the United States there has been some confusion over this term. The question is whether the national government is sovereign, or the states are sovereign. Some states have made a fetish out of proclaiming state sovereignty; however, there is no doubt that in most areas of public life, which affect the nation as a whole, the federal government has ultimate sovereignty. Nevertheless, there are some specific functions that remain with the states and with local governments, over which the federal government has little or no control..

For example, the federal government does not have control over local ordinances unless they are in direct conflict with individual rights as provided in the Constitution. This was dramatized early in 1964 when the Soviet government asked permission to build a new embassy building in Washington, D.C. The site they chose was in a suburban area on the outskirts of the capital city, where the land was zoned for private dwellings. The residents, who did not relish the idea of a Russian embassy in their community organized against it. Before the hearing Secretary of State Rusk appealed to the planning commission to approve the zoning change so that the embassy could be built in the residential section; even President Johnson asked the planning commission to approve the change. Then came the public hearing at which the Russians gave their reasons why their embassy should be built in the area, and the residents gave their reasons why it should not. Following the arguments the planning commission rendered its decision. There would be no zoning change. President Johnson with all the prestige and power of the Presidential office could not change the decision because in certain areas of our political life, the Constitution guarantees privileges to the local government that cannot be preempted by the federal government.

In the Soviet constitution, the source of sovereignty is not so clear. Sovereignty is said, at one point, to rest with the people. At another point, it is said to rest with the republics which make up the USSR; at still another point, it is said to lie in the organs of the central government. In theory, the USSR was formed on the basis of voluntary union by the various republics, and the republics have the right to secede if they choose to do so. The boundaries of each republic cannot be altered, save with the consent of the republic itself. Furthermore, the republics have the right to enter into relations with foreign states, and to maintain their own armies. In the United Nations, there are representatives from the Ukraine and Belorussia as well as from the USSR, on the assumption that these republics are sovereign and may be treated separately.

When one examines the Soviet government in detail, however, it is apparent that the Soviet government does not operate on any true federal principles and the republics do not have individual sovereignty. In fact, one may use the term "dual-subordination" to describe how the Soviet government operates, because at each level below the Central government one normally finds that the state organs of government are responsible to two masters--one on its own level, and one above it. For example, the Council of Ministers in Kazakhstan is responsible both to the Council of Ministers of the USSR and to the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

To compare this situation with the one in the United States, one can imagine the governor of Nebraska responsible not only to the people of Nebraska for his acts in Nebraska, but also responsible to the President of the United States, or the police chief in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, responsible not only to the mayor of Pittsburgh and the people of Pittsburgh, but also to the governor of Pennsylvania and to the President of the United States. When one understands this, you can see that so-called residual powers left to the republics under the federal principle in the USSR are meaningless, because there is no true sovereignty at the local level. All local ministries or administrative departments are merely branch-offices of the same ministries located in Moscow.

A third point that may help us to understand how and to what degree formal rules control leaders in the USSR and the United States is the relationship between political parties and the constitution. One of the weaknesses of our party-system is the relative absence of party discipline. Although party whips and party leaders in the legislatures try to persuade all party members to vote as party policy dictates, representatives and senators often do not. Southern senators frequently vote with conservative northern Republicans; Republican liberals often vote with democratic liberals. Some political leaders who campaigned for office under a particular party label are really individualists who will vote as their own conscience or constituencies dictate and who will pay little or no attention to what the party says.

In the Soviet Union, the problem is quite different. There is only one party--the Communist Party. The leaders of the Communist Party speak for the Party, and all members must obey. Party members hold the top positions of political leadership in the USSR. They are obligated as Party members to obey without question all matters of Party policy. Therefore, even as political leaders in the state apparatus, they are more likely to act according to Communist Party policy than according to constitutional directives when they are in conflict. The Party controls the selection, distribution and training of the personnel of the whole Soviet state apparatus, and checks on the work of the organs of state and government. Beside each important political office in the Soviet Union, there is also a Party office; the head of that particular Party office has as much to say about what policy will be taken as the man who holds the political office. Not a single important decision is taken by the organs of government without previous instruction and advice from the Party. Article 126 of the constitution describes it in this way:

> "The most active and conscious citizens from the ranks of the working class and other toilers join together in the All Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the advance guard of the toilers in their struggle for the strengthening and development of the Socialist order and constitutes the directing nucleus of all the toilers' organizations, both social and governmental."

The last part of this statement makes it abundantly clear that the Communist Party is the organizing force of all Soviet political activity. Important executive orders are often published jointly by the Council of Ministers and from the Central Committee of the Communist Party; therefore, the constitution provides the Soviet Union with the appearance of a legal organized structure of government, but the policies and announcements of the Central Committee of the Communist Party have the force of law. Whether these policies violate the constitution or not, they will be carried out as if they were law.

To what degree United States and the Soviet constitutions protect individual rights is the fourth point to consider in this survey. The Soviet constitution contains provisions about freedom of speech, press, association, and so on, which are very similar to those of the American Constitution. These are difficult problems in all societies. In the American society we are constantly wrestling with the degree to which these freedoms may be tolerated. For example, to what extent should the American government permit parties such as the Communist Party to operate when its declared purpose is to destroy the government that is protecting it. Legislation has been passed by Congress to outlaw the Communist Party and to refuse to permit it to operate. But many of these acts of Congress have been judged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because they violate fundamental freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution. We have a society that seeks to protect itself but at the same time to protect the liberties it offers in the Constitution. While protecting these liberties, it often has to protect the very enemies who seek to change that Constitution.

In the Soviet Union, which also guarantees freedom of speech, meetings, demonstration, and the press in its constitution, these freedoms are interpreted in a somewhat different way. A textbook, published in the Soviet Union, says:

> "In our state, there is not, and of course cannot be, any freedom of speech, of the press, etc., for the enemies of socialism."

Therefore, groups which would demonstrate or meet or publish opinions contrary to the views of the government as interpreted by its leaders would not find these freedoms tolerated. Freedom of the press does not permit anyone to publish a newspaper. A Soviet citizen must first get the permission of the police. If he wished to buy a duplicator for the purpose of producing pamphlets or reading materials, he must first get the permission of the head of the secret police and then register his duplicator with the local censorship organization in the Soviet Union.

American leaders have no such control over the mass media. It is relatively easy for opposition leaders to launch attacks on American officials.

Finally, there is the issue of separation of powers. Power is divided in the American Constitution between the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government. This is what is frequently termed our system of checks and balances. The framers of our Constitution hoped to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful. They provided checks to balance one branch against the other. Congress must approve presidential appointments; the president may veto Congressional legislation; yet, Congress can pass the legislation over the president's veto. The Senate must approve the president's treaties, but the president has the right to conduct foreign affairs. The Supreme Court reviews and judges the constitutionality or lack thereof of legislative acts. The Congress, on the other hand, decides on the appointment of Supreme Court justices. In these and many other ways, the various branches of the government have been designed by our Constitution to check on each other to prevent the tyranny of any one branch.

In the Soviet Union no such separation of powers really exists according to the constitution. In theory, the Supreme Soviet, which consists of the elected representatives of the people, is the supreme organ of government. This also includes the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which is its appointed executive committee. The Council of Ministers and the courts are appointees of the Supreme Soviet and are subordinate to it. When one watches the Supreme Soviet in operation, however, it is clear that it is by no means the supreme institution of the Soviet government. The Supreme Soviet meets only infrequently--once or twice a year--and rarely meets more than two or three weeks at any one time. Its members listen to speeches and vote unanimously for almost every proposal that is brought before them. Consequently, any disagreements on this legislation have been ironed out in other groups before it was brought to the Supreme Soviet.

When the Supreme Soviet meets, it merely approves what others have already prepared. The Council of Ministers which is appointed by the Supreme Soviet and is responsible to it, conducts its activities with little reference to or association with the Supreme Soviet. Even the Courts, which in the United States often times act to protect the individual against the government, serve in the USSR to insure that the laws are being obeyed. While the courts often act to protect one citizen against the aggressions of another, the Soviet courts are notoriously lax in protecting the Soviet citizen against the aggressiveness of the Soviet government.

In these and other ways, it is clear that American leaders are far more bound by formal rules than Soviet political leaders who, because of the nature of their position and the strength of the Communist Party, are often times able to ignore the formal political rules.

READING XXIX

HOW INFORMAL RULES AFFECT AMERICAN AND SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

In Reading 28, we learned that political leaders are often restricted by formal rules such as constitutions. American and Soviet political leaders must also pay attention to certain informal rules. In our society political leaders are expected to be "drafted" for political office rather than indicate too strongly their desire to run. Therefore, presidential candidates normally announce their candidacy only after they have "observed a ground swell" of public support demanding their nomination.

There is no formal rule that says candidates must operate in this way. They are acting according to the established custom or informal rule. Rules like these are called customs or folkways by social scientists. They are also called social norms which means that in a particular social situation, these are the normal kinds of behavior that we come to expect of each other. If a person breaks a social norm, he will be punished, at least to the extent that people may disapprove because he has broken the rules of the game. There are a variety of ways to punish people who break rules. We can make fun of them; we can make them feel out-of-place; we can keep them out of the group for a while until they learn the rules; we can prevent them from taking an important part in the group; or we can even throw them out of the group altogether.

Through custom we establish rules of the game to control every situation. As we move from one group to another, we learn its rules. We may break them at times if it seems important and worth the punishment to do so; we may try to change them; or, having learned a group's rules, we may find that we should not have joined it in the first place, and get out. But we cannot ignore the fact that folkways--rules of the game--exist in every social situation and in every institution. Our political leaders must also play by the rules of the game or face the likelihood that they will be punished.

The problem becomes more complicated when we examine the folkways of political leaders who must work together. Take the Senate of the United States, for example. Within that august body, a number of folkways have taken such firm root that senators violate them only at their peril. In our reading for today we will study these folkways and observe what happens when they are broken.

The fact that these folkways are informal and have not been written down makes it difficult to analyze them. They are buried deep in the patterns of behavior of the men who practice them, and perhaps because they are completely informal, they are hard to identify and write down. On a tape which we will play at the beginning of class tomorrow, we have prepared an explanation of the research procedure upon which this study was based and have recorded some of the comments which senators made in response to the questions of interviewers.

As you read about these six folkways of the Senate, consider the following questions:

1. **Why does each folkway described here exist? Which groups of men within the Senate benefit most from these folkways? What happens to people who break them?**
2. **Does the folkway calling for specialization speed legislative action? Is it designed to do so?**
3. **Is a senator popular with the folk back home sure to be equally popular within the Senate itself? Why or why not?**
4. **Would you think that senators who conform most closely to the folkways of the Senate would be more effective in getting legislation they support adopted?**

THE FOLKWAYS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE: CONFORMITY TO GROUP NORMS AND LEGISLATIVE EFFECTIVENESS *

*** From Donald R. Matthews, "The Folkways of the United States Senate: Conformity to Group Norms and Legislative Effectiveness," in THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, LIII, 4 (December 1959).**

Matthews explains that the work of senators is governed by a number of informal rules or "folkways." Among these rules are the rules of apprenticeship, willingness to do legislative work, specialization in one area of concern, courtesy, reciprocity, and institutional patriotism.

READING XXX

ETHICS AND POLITICS

Each day many of the decisions we make are based on a set of ethical principles. Whenever we choose to do what is "right" rather than something that would appear to offer us material advantages, we have made an ethical rather than a selfish choice. In so doing we have let ethics determine our actions.

Political leaders must also wrestle with ethical problems. Sometimes these problems are clear-cut: Should I or should I not take a bribe? Most American political leaders do not hesitate to answer a question such as this one in the negative. Other situations raise ethical questions which are not so easily answered. For example, should a senator accept Christmas gifts from men who may later want a favor done for them? Should they refuse to accept an expensive gift, such as a color TV set, but accept an inexpensive one like a necktie? When does a gift become a bribe? In the above cases Americans tend to expect a higher standard of ethical conduct from their political leaders than they do of businessmen.

Other ethical problems are of a quite different sort. What should a politician do when his conscience tells him one thing and the facts of political life dictate another? For example, suppose that you, a Senator from a southern state, favored a bill making a lynching a federal offense instead of a crime which could be punished only by local or state officials. You would know that many of your constituents would oppose such a measure. If you voted for the bill, these constituents would probably support your opponent in the next election. Let's suppose that your most important rival was a man who stood for almost every major policy which you opposed. Would you vote for the anti-lynching bill, help your opponent get elected next time by doing so, and then see him vote for six years against the measures you would have supported?

Although the reading for today is drawn from a case about an American political leader, this does not mean that Soviet political leaders have no concern for ethics or morality. Quite the contrary! The Communists give much attention to "Socialist morality" based upon Marxist-Leninist teachings. Khrushchev is forever moralizing and criticizing those who appear to fall short of the standard. What is acceptable to Soviet leaders according to their standards might be unacceptable to us, but in large measure this is a result of different standards. Furthermore, we have learned to be cynical of Soviet ethics because Soviet leaders often fail to abide by their own ethical rules. Nevertheless, in both the United States and the USSR, the behavior of American and Soviet political leaders is determined in large part by each society's code of ethics.

The reading for today raises a kind of ethical problem which is often faced by political leaders--the choice between conscience and political expediency. It is taken from a book called PROFILES IN COURAGE, written by former President John F. Kennedy while he was still a Senator from Massachusetts. This volume tells the stories of a number of courageous American politicians each of whom in a time of crisis listened to the voice of his conscience when political expediency dictated another course of action. Some of these men were never returned to public office as the result of their actions. Some suffered great abuse and some, even physical violence. Yet the course of history has vindicated them until they now hold honored places in our political history.

As you read about the role of Senator Edmund G. Ross in the acquittal of President Andrew Johnson, consider the following questions:

1. Who impeached the President? On what charges? Who was to try him? What vote was required to convict?

2. Why did Ross vote as he did? Do you agree with his decision?

3. What happened to Ross's political career as a result of this episode? Did the public later agree with his action? What is the worst thing that can happen to an American politician if he opposes the will of his party or his constituents but does not break the law? What do you think might happen to a politician in a totalitarian society if he voted in opposition to the party because of his conscience?

EDMUND G. ROSS*

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* From John F. Kennedy, PROFILES IN COURAGE (New York, Harper & Bros.: 1956).

Reading XXX is excerpted from the late President Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize-winning book. The story of Edmund G. Ross concerns his vote in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. Ross faces the alternatives of voting for impeachment and insuring his political future or voting against impeachment and insuring political death. Ross ruined his political career for he believed that Johnson was not guilty of the crimes on which the House had indicted him, and rather than establish the precedent that a vindictive Senate could destroy the power of the executive department, he chose to ruin his political life.

READING XXXI

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

Every political leader is restricted in what he can do by the political philosophy that dominates his country. In some countries this philosophy consists of a precise ideology contained in "official texts," which is binding on all citizens, which is nurtured and spread, and to which all leaders must refer to justify their actions. Such a nation is the USSR whose ideology--Marxism-Leninism--directs all of Soviet life.

In many other countries no such official ideology exists. In the United States we talk vaguely about the American way of life, but this does not imply a specific set of ideas to which all must conform. Rather, it means that Americans are largely free to believe and act as they choose so long as they do not infringe on the rights of others to do likewise.

Most Americans do agree upon certain ideals when they are stated generally rather than specifically. Americans agree that everyone should have decent housing, an adequate diet, and acceptable medical attention. However, when these vague goals are translated into specific policies such as Social Security, Unemployment Compensation, and Medicare, Americans disagree sharply. That is why Fourth of July speeches and Presidential inaugural addresses are so warmly endorsed. The speakers are speaking to all Americans about generally accepted goals and ideals. When a President attempts to translate the ideals expressed in his inaugural address into specific items of legislation, he has moved into the arena of partisanship and loses much of his support.

Political leaders in both the United States and the USSR are bound to one degree or another by the philosophy of their society. No American president would dare suggest that private ownership of property should be abolished. Neither would a Soviet leader proclaim that capitalism is better than socialism. But between the two, leaders in the USSR are the more restricted. Soviet leaders are constantly aware of the need to harmonize practice with theory. Actions which seem on the surface to be heretical must be justified in one way or another. Soviet leaders are prone to say, "What is the correct line?" By this they mean what specific action is called for in this instance which is in keeping with Marxist-Leninist beliefs. American leaders, on the other hand, ask, "What is the correct position?" They mean what position should I take on this specific problem; the "position" they adopt may be quite unrelated to positions taken on other problems and to any official ideology.

The need of Soviet leaders to justify what they do by reference to an ideology tends to narrow the choice of alternatives available to them. It also demands that junior politicials pay attention to the "official line" emanating from Moscow.

The two selections that follow contain statements by Premier Khrushchev and former President Kennedy. Kennedy's statement comes from his inaugural address; Khrushchev's is a portion of an interview with Gardner Cowles, the editor of Look Magazine. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. To what extent is Khrushchev's answer to Cowle's question couched in ideological terms?
2. What portions of Kennedy's address could be properly termed ideological?
3. Of the two leaders which would you guess could be the most pragmatic in his conduct?
4. What problems does ideology create as leaders of one country seek to understand and to communicate with the leaders of another country?

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV*

* From "An Interview with Nikita Khrushchev by Gardner Cowles," in LOOK MAGAZINE, April 20, 1962, 27-29.

In this interview Cowles asked Khrushchev to interpret his statement "We shall bury you." Khrushchev explained that the more progressive system of Communism will soon win over capitalism as more and more people come to accept Communism as the best economic and social system. Khrushchev stated that history records the unending progress toward systems where the laboring man has more and more control over the productive factors. The aim of Communism, he said, was to give to the worker, once and for all, control over the means of production.

JOHN F. KENNEDY*

President Kennedy's Inaugural Address

My Fellow Citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom--symbolizing an end as well as a beginning--signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

* Inaugural Address of President John F. Kennedy, January 10, 1961 from the American press.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe--the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans--born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage--and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.

This much we pledge--and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do--for we dare not meet a powerful challange at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our every view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom--and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought to find power by riding on the tiger's back ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required--not because the Communists are doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If the free society cannot help the many who are poor, it can never save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge--to convert our good words into good deeds--in a new allegiance for progress--to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support--to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective --to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak--and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: That both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from their present course--both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew--remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms--and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides join to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah--to "undo the heavy burdens. . .(and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of cooperation can be made in the jungles of suspicion, let both sides join in the next task: Creating, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mind, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again--not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need--not as a call to battle, though embattled we are--but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, paitent in tribulation"--a struggle against the common enemies of man: Tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility--I welcome it. I do not beleive that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith and the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it--and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: Ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and scarifice that we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

UNIT VIII: DECISION-MAKING

STATING THE ISSUE

Decision-making plays a comparatively minor role in the political systems of primitive peoples. A man whose every action is guided by folkways and mores of his group has no need for an elaborate institution designed to help him make decisions. The dead hand of the past is his guide. He never has to face the endless number of decisions which confront modern man.

In our society, each individual must make hundreds of decisions every day. Should I study tonight or watch television? What food should I choose as I go through the cafeteria line? Should the members of the student council sponsor a dance? Questions like these all demand decisions. Many can be made easily. Parents may limit television viewing during the week. Tastes and budget influence the choice of food for lunch. The matter of sponsoring a dance, however, involves a more complicated decision, partly because more people are involved.

The decisions which each of us must make every day are less complicated and less important than the decisions made by political leaders. Political decisions affect the lives of millions of people. Some of them send us to war. Others build better schools, or provide medical care for the aged or free a man accused unjustly of a crime. Some of these decisions are made on the local level; others take place in state capitals; still others are focused in Washington, London, or Moscow. Some are made by members of legislatures, some by executives and some by judges who are members of the judiciary. Occasionally political decisions are even made by people who have no formal office in the government but are influential enough to determine the course of action which responsible officials choose.

The process of decision-making in a democracy is quite different from what happens in a totalitarian state. In fact the contrasting ways in which decisions are made in the United States and in the Soviet Union will help to make the differences between democracy and totalitarianism clear. Readings 32 through 43 analyze decision-making in the United States; Readings 44 through 47 concern the way in which decisions are made in the USSR. Where are key political decisions made in these two societies? How are they made? Who makes them? What factors influence decisions? These are the major issues involved in the following sixteen readings.

READING XXXII

FEDERALISM AND ITS EFFECT ON DECISION-MAKING

Decision-making in the United States is conditioned by our federal system of government. A federal system is one in which the individuals in a nation are controlled by at least two governments--the central or national government and the state and/or local government. Each government has certain powers and each can perform its functions without interference from the other. An example may make the point clear.

In the United States, the national government has the right to establish post offices; no state can pass a law preventing the national government from building post offices in its territory. The Constitution left to the states all rights not specifically granted to the national government. Therefore, although the right to build mental hospitals is not mentioned in the Constitution, the federal government cannot prevent a state from doing so.

Within its own area of responsibility, each government is able to control individuals within its borders. If a person held up a United States post office in Chicago, he would be violating a national law and could be arrested by officials of the federal government. If he were caught robbing a house in the same city, he would have broken a state law and would be liable to arrest by state or local officials.

The reading about federalism which follows contains two sections. The first part is a general description of the federal system of government in the United States. Study this section in preparation for class. The second section describes a hypothetical situation and is designed to test your understanding of the principles of federalism. It is designed for classroom work, but you may wish to look it over briefly before you come to class. As you read the first section, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is the difference between unitary government and federal government? Why did Americans decide upon a federal system?

2. In what areas do the various levels of government often cooperate?

3. In what areas do they have overlapping and sometimes conflicting authority? How would this affect decision-making?

4. What do you think the term "the sovereign state of Alabama" means? What attitude does the term convey? Is the term accurate?

FEDERALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Even when the East coast of the American continent was organized into thirteen colonies, there was considerable diversity among the people of these colonies. In addition, each colony had its own way of governing itself and its own leaders, and did not want to change. When security problems and economic advantages made union seem necessary, an attempt was made to permit the colonies to maintain their identity and some measure of independence. It was especially hoped that the citizens of the United States of America would never be ruled by a large central government which, the founders of the American Constitution felt, would be likely to become too powerful and deny the people the freedom for which they felt they had fought the Revolution. Thus, a federal form of government was devised.

In the federal government of the United States, power is divided by the Constitution between the national government and the states. Each is given certain jobs to perform. The division of responsibility cannot be changed except by constitutional amendment. No act of Congress or state legislature can alter the rights of the other.

In a unitary form of government, which is the opposite of a federal form, the constitution assigns all governmental power to the central government and all other governments have only the authority given to them by the central government. We can find examples of unitary government in the United States, for the relationships between the states and their counties and cities are usually of this sort.

Basically, the Constitution divides powers by naming those that belong to the national government and stating that all other powers belong to the states. The national government's powers include power over all dealings with foreign nations, power to raise armies, coin money, collect taxes and to regulate commercial activities among the states.

Some of these powers are specifically given only to the national government. Others, such as taxation, are shared by both the states and the national government. These are called concurrent powers. Still other powers, which are not given to the national government at all, are reserved to the states. Such powers include control over education, health and safety, running of state elections, and enforcement of state laws.

Often state and national governments cooperate to attain a certain goal. State and local police may aid federal authorities in a hunt for someone who has committed a federal crime. A public health official tracking down carriers of disease uses both federal and state services. Many federal agencies, such as the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of the Census conduct surveys and gather statistics for state officials. Other agencies train local employees and help enforce state laws. This kind of cooperation avoids duplication and provides better services at less cost.

Another, and very commonly used method by which the national government aids the state governments is by granting money for certain projects. Since the national government is able to tax more widely than the state governments, the national government has more money to work with. It can attempt to distribute its money in such a way as to insure that all states can meet minimum standards in such matters as education, health and roads. States usually have to fulfill certain conditions in order to obtain the grants; thus the national government has a means of guiding the states.

Although the endurance of the Constitution is proof of how well its writers were able to look ahead, problems often arise that were not even imagined in the 18th century. In such cases, it is often not clear whether the state or the national government has the power to solve such problems. What normally happens in such instances is that one government or the other attempts to resolve the problem. If the other objects to this, the matter will become a legal case to be settled by the Supreme Court which acts as umpire in such matters. Let us examine one of the most famous of such cases.

One of the first times the Supreme Court was called upon to settle a dispute between the national government and a state was in 1819. The national government had founded a bank with branches spread about the country. The state of Maryland levied a tax against the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States. The cashier of the Baltimore branch of the United States Bank, a man named McCulloch, refused to pay, saying that a state could not tax the bank of the national government. The attorneys for the state of Maryland argued that in the first place, the national government did not have the power to establish a bank. This power is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. If, on the other hand, argued Maryland, the national government did have such power, the states had the power to tax the bank. The power to tax as it sees fit is one of the powers of the state.

The argument was settled by the Supreme Court. The case was named McCulloch vs. Maryland. Daniel Webster, the attorney who represented the national government, argued that although the national government is not specifically assigned the power to form a bank, the national government does have the authority to pass laws necessary to carry out the powers it is assigned. The incorporation of a bank provides the national government with an appropriate means of exercising the granted powers of collecting taxes, borrowing money, and caring for the property of the United States. Not only was the bank constitutional, argued Webster, but a state had no right to tax it since it would then be interfering with the operations of the national government.

The Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice John Marshall who, in all his decisions, tended to favor the strengthening of the national government, accepted all of Webster's arguments and decided in favor of the national government. If Maryland's arguments had been accepted, the national government may have been limited for all time to exactly those powers stated in the Constitution. The national government would not have had any power over anything invented after 1789, regulation of airplanes for example, simply because such matters were not specifically stated in the Constitution. McCulloch vs. Maryland was the first of a long series of decisions in which the Supreme Court said that the national government had certain powers which were implied in the powers specifically granted to it by the Constitution.

Not only does federalism produce areas of cooperation and conflict between the states and the national government, it also produces cooperation and conflict among the various states. Let us first examine the cooperation that states expect of one another.

There are three basic obligations that states owe one another according to the Constitution. The first requires the states to give full faith and credit to one another's public acts, records, and judicial proceedings. This means that each state must enforce the civil judgments of other states and accept their public records and acts as valid. The clause applies especially to non-criminal judicial proceedings. Suppose Smith obtains a judgment from a Pennsylvania court saying that Jones must pay him $5000. Jones then moves to California and refuses to pay. The California courts will give full faith and credit to the Pennsylvania judgment and will enforce it just as they would a similar judgment of a California court.

Another obligation the states have to one another is to treat citizens from another state who are living or visiting in that particular state just as its own citizens are treated. They may not tax out-of-state citizens or interfere with the use of their property or anything of this sort. Only for political rights such as voting or serving on juries, may a state treat its own citizens differently.

The third obligation states have to one another is to return a criminal who has fled from one state to another. This is called extradition. When the states disagree among themselves, the federal courts, ultimately the Supreme Court, will serve as umpire in much the same way as it does in disagreements between the national government and the states.

Let us now examine the role of the local governments in the federal system. Each state creates units of local government--cities, counties, school districts, townships, water control districts, and park districts. As we have already noted, the units of local government do not have any powers of their own assigned to them by the Constitution of the United States, or, except in a few cases, by the constitution of the particular state in which they are.

All states are divided into counties though in Louisiana they are called parishes and in Alaska boroughs. The traditional functions of counties are enforcing laws, recording legal papers, and helping the poor and handicapped. Although counties in some states have given up major responsibility for helping the poor or building highways, they have taken on planning, licensing of businesses, airport building and operation, ambulance service, health services and other new functions.

North of the Ohio River, from the Dakotas and Kansas eastward, and outside New England, the general practice is to subdivide the county into townships. Where they exist, townships often handle relief, build and maintain roads, and sometimes serve as districts for school purposes.

Another unit of government, familiar to most Americans, is the city. Each city has two major functions. One, to provide government within its boundaries in order that the citizenry may maintain law and order, keep their streets clean, educate their children, dispose of their garbage, purify their water, create parks, and in other ways make their city a good place in which to live. But the city has a second function--it is an instrumentality of the state to carry out state functions. It is different from a county, however, in that it does have more freedom to act on its own.

In recent years there has been a sizeable amount of cooperation between the national government and the cities. According to the traditional theory of American federalism, the national government should deal with local governments only through the states. Today, however, cities receive federal aid for building streets and airports, for civil defense, for slum clearance and housing, urban renewal, and other projects.

State officials generally resent the fact that they are not involved in these projects. City officials, on the other hand, are usually quite happy with the new arrangement. Many large cities do not receive generous treatment from state legislatures that are dominated by representatives from rural areas.

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PROBLEM ON FEDERALISM *

* From Thomas H. Eliot, William Chambers, and Robert H. Salisbury, AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: READINGS AND PROBLEMS FOR ANALYSIS (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co.: 1960), 89-91.

This selection provides the students with draft proposals to help them understand the nature of a federal system. The nine proposals to which the students must react probe the nature of power that is given to the central government and the power that is given to the several states of a hypothetical country.

READING XXXIII

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND ITS EFFECT ON DECISION-MAKING

In Reading 32 we learned that the United States has a federal system of government that provides for decision-making at several levels. In part our federal system evolved because our founding fathers feared an overly-powerful central government. As a result, they left certain responsibilities to the states, and assigned only those tasks to the federal government that were necessary to make it a strong, healthy member of the family of nations.

This same fear of a too-powerful government led the authors of our Constitution to design a system of government in which the tasks of government were divided among these branches. Our founding fathers were inspired by an eighteenth century French philosopher, Baron Montesquieu, who championed a three-fold division of power among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Americans adopted this system as one device by which each branch of the government could check possible abuses by the others and thus protect the liberties of American citizens.

As it was originally conceived, the legislative branch, representing both the people and the states, would pass legislation, the executive branch would enforce the laws, and the courts would apply and interpret the laws whenever violations or disputes arose. As you will learn in Reading 33, each branch was given certain checks on the assigned activities of the other.

To a great extent the system of checks and balances or separation of powers has also been followed in state and local governments, although the tendency in recent years has been to streamline local government at the expense of checks and balances. Nevertheless, the principle of separation of powers has had a profound impact on the way in which decisions are made in our country. No President can design new policies without first considering what the responses to these new policies are likely to be in the Congress and in the courts. Both Congress and Courts can prevent many of his ideas from ever taking effect. Similar conclusions hold true for the other branches of government. The result has been that decision-making is often a slow and torturous business because so many groups must be consulted and satisfied before action can be taken.

The reading for today describes the way in which the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government are organized on the national, state and local levels. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What exclusive functions did each of the three branches of government have originally?
2. How has this separation of powers changed somewhat in our own day?
3. How do you account for the changes in the separation of powers which have taken place? Do you think that these changes endanger fundamental freedoms?
4. What advantages with regard to decision-making does a city-manager plan have over one organized more strictly on a checks and balances approach?

SEPARATION OF POWERS IN NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The different levels of government, national, state and local, have different jobs to perform. One reason the Founding Fathers created a federal system was to divide power among governments on several levels so that no single government could become powerful enough to threaten liberties. Much the same reasoning was behind their division of the national government into three branches; the legislative (Congress), the executive (the President and his assistants) and the judiciary (the courts). The authors of the Constitution planned that each branch of government would have specific tasks to perform and would also be able to check the other branches should they seem to overstep their power. Under this scheme, Congress was supposed to make the laws, the President and his staff to see that they were enforced, and the courts to settle any disputes arising from misunderstandings of what the laws said or how they were enforced. As it has developed, however, the American system is not this simple. . . .

Each branch of government, it is true, checks on the other. The Congress, for example, can check on the work of the executive department because it has the final say about the president's appointments--cabinet members, diplomats, and Supreme Court justices. Congress may also check by changing or refusing to pass bills that the president considers important.

Meanwhile the president can check on the Congress by simply vetoing the legislation it passes. A two-thirds majority of the Congress is needed to override the veto. And the Supreme Court can check on both by deciding if a law that has been passed contradicts the Constitution. To complete the picture both the president and the Congress check the Court--the president by his appointment of justices, and the Congress by their approval or disapproval of the appointments.

But over the years, procedures have developed in the American system of government that have made the clear lines of authority more hazy. The Constitution seems to give the Congress the job of making laws all by itself. But where do the ideas for the laws come from? Sometimes they do, indeed, originate in the Congress. Often a committee of Congress will investigate certain problems, such as racketeering, to learn what kind of laws ought to be devised to control the trouble. Such hearings, which are usually given much publicity, not only inform the public and help to educate the people, but also lead to legislation. More often the President suggests laws he would like to have passed. While this means that the executive branch has crossed the line of the legislative branch since it is playing a part in lawmaking, it has been accepted because it was needed. From your own experience in homerooms or clubs, you may have noticed that if the officers did not suggest exactly what needed to be voted upon, little would ever be done. Consider the legislature. The Senate is composed of 100 men; the House of Representatives of 435. These legislators come from different areas of the country and represent people with different viewpoints. A Congressman from an industrial city like Pittsburgh views the problems of the United States from a different angle than does a Congressman from a farm state such as Iowa. Although the two men will agree on many basic points, such as upholding the Constitution and keeping the United States free from attack, they are likely to be in disagreement on other matters. Even where they do agree, one man is likely to find some matters of crucial importance and another will think that other problems are more vital.

Another reason why the president takes part in the lawmaking procedure is that he is the man with the most overall information and is therefore best able to see how different problems are related to each other and to suggest an overall program for the nation. This he does in his State of the Union message in which he covers suggested solutions to problems in all aspects of American life, his budget message, in which he suggests how much money ought to be spent on each of the various programs of the government, and his economic report, in which he outlines the state of the American economy and puts forth solutions for the problems mentioned. Although the President's suggestions are not always accepted, they are given careful consideration.

There are still functions within the branches of government that are clearly separate. In the field of foreign policy, where speed and unity are most important, the President is the exclusive spokesman for the United States. The Constitution gives him power over the two major instruments of foreign policy, the diplomatic corps and the armed services. It is he who has the responsibility for dealing with foreign powers and for appointing our representatives to other countries. The President serves as Chief of State and as representative of all the people, and is accepted as such both at home and abroad.

The role of the courts, in any political system, is to settle disputes. As we have noted, the American federal courts (including the Supreme Court and many lower courts) have the power to settle disputes not only between individuals, but also between states and between the state and the national government. One of their main jobs is deciding whether or not a law contradicts the

Constitution. If the court decides that a law contradicts the Constitution, the law may not be enforced unless Congress and the states make the law constitutional by amending the Constitution. The Federal courts also preside over trials in which they consider the case of someone accused of violating a law of the national government. The Supreme Court is the highest court in the land and its decisions cannot be changed by any other court.

The legislative branch of government in most states of the United States includes two houses organized in a way similar to the Congress of the United States. The legislature normally has the power to levy state taxes, appropriate money, create agencies to carry out the tasks of government and investigate these agencies to be certain they are doing what the law assigns them to do. State legislatures, like the national one, participate in amending state constitutions and in appointing public officials.

"The executive power" says the federal Constitution, "shall be vested in the President of the United States." The governor of a state, however, shares the executive power with many other elected officers. Although the President also has helpers doing the same kinds of jobs that these state officials do, they are appointed by the President and must do what he asks. In the states, these men are elected to their posts rather than chosen by the governors, so they may choose not to do what the governors want.

Like the President, the governor must be chief legislator. All governors have the responsibility of working out some kind of legislative program which they urge the state legislature to pass. The governor is also Commander-in-Chief of the state's National Guard. The governor is responsible for utilizing these servicemen when ordinary civil authorities are inadequate--in case of riots, floods or other catastrophes. If ever the president needs the military forces that make up a state's National Guard, he may call it into federal service and the governor has no power over it until it has been returned to his control.

The judges of the state courts do most of the judicial business of the United States. They preside over most of the criminal trials and settle most of the disputes between individuals. They interpret their state constitutions and apply state laws. In deciding whether a certain law is "reasonable" (whether it is fair to regulate a business in a certain way, for example) in forcing county officials to follow a certain law, or in deciding whether a governor has the power to remove a local official, the judges are actually doing more than merely settling disputes. They are playing an important role in deciding how the states are governed.

3

In turning to the study of how local governments (counties, townships, cities) are organized, we gain our first glimpse of a new pattern. The job of governing often is not divided into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial as is the case on the state and national levels. Let us first observe the counties.

In general, most counties have little legislative power, but the typical county has a group of officials who act in some fashion as the governing body. These agencies have a variety of titles --board of commissioners, supervisors of roads, county court, commissioners' court, and so on. They vary in size from one to more than fifty members. Their jobs include administering state laws, levying taxes, appropriating money, issuing bonds, and signing contracts in behalf of the county.

The county board shares its power with a number of other officials, who are usually elected. These include the sheriff who enforces the law and keeps the county jail; the prosecuting attorney who, generally speaking, is the lawyer for the state and county in legal disputes between them and an individual or group; the coroner whose main job is to hold inquests in the case of accidental or suspicious death, and several others.

The organization of a city is outlined in a city charter approved by the state legislature. The most common form of city government assigns to a mayor the same kinds of jobs in the running of a city that the governor performs for the state and the President for the national government. Although in some cities the mayor has only such ceremonial jobs as greeting visitors and presenting keys to the city, many mayors appoint and remove heads of departments, investigate their activities, send messages to city council concerning programs, prepare the budget, and veto council ordinances. In other words, a mayor may be the chief policy maker and legislator for the city. The city council, on the other hand, has approximately the same job (discussing and passing city laws) that the state and national legislatures have.

At the turn of the century, a new kind of a city government was devised in Galveston, Texas. This form of government vests all power, both legislative and administrative in the hands of five elected commissioners who head the various departments of government. It was believed that more unity in government would be attained if the same men who thought up the laws also enforced them. Although Americans have typically feared granting legislative and executive power to the same men since it was believed that such men would have too much power, this form of city government became very popular for a while. The major defect of this [illegible] as it turned out, was that there was no one person who could take an overall view of the city's problems.

Another kind of city charter to improve upon the commission form was soon improvised. This was the Council-Manager form. Under the Council-Manager charter, a city is run very much like a business. Voters, like stock holders, elect a board of directors, called the city council. The council makes laws and decides policy for the city. To administer these laws, the councilmen hire a specially trained city manager. The manager can be fired at any time the council deems his work unsatisfactory.

In many ways the original division of power among the legislative, executive and judicial branches has broken down. Developed originally to protect men from overzealous government, these provisions have proved cumbersome in the modern world where a great variety of pressing problems have required an overall view of the entire nation and an executive department able to act efficiently and quickly. Still the old provisions that enable one branch of government to check another remain. In times of crisis these provisions often help to protect the individual from persecution. In more happy days, they help to assure us that measures do not become laws without the careful examination of a number of men each with independent powers. Many people believe that separation of powers still play a vital role in keeping our government democratic and our people free.

READING XXXIV

EXECUTIVE DECISION-MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF A FAILURE

In Readings 34 and 35 we will study the way in which two decisions were made in the executive branch of the federal government. Both readings are case studies; both are from the administration of John F. Kennedy; both relate to problems of foreign relations which are the distinct responsibility of the executive branch; both are concerned with events which took place in Cuba.

One major difference separates the two cases: in the first the decision led to a policy which failed; in the second, the policy decided upon was successful. A close examination of the two cases should reveal the major elements of good decision-making in the executive branch. In Reading 34, we can learn from President Kennedy's errors; Reading 35 will indicate some of the factors which contributed to success.

When President Kennedy took office, he learned that a plan to invade Cuba had been underway for some time. The plan involved the invasion of Cuba at a place called the Bay of Pigs by a small band of Cuban refugees who had been trained and equipped by the United States. Kennedy was forced to make a decision: to scrap the plan, to revise it and go ahead, or to go along with the plan as he inherited it from the Eisenhower administration. Reading 34 discusses the way in which he made his decision. As you read it, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What lessons did the author draw from this incident?
2. How did President Kennedy make the decision? Whose advice did he seek? Why these people rather than others?
3. What factors does an executive need to consider before he takes the advice of his associates? What role did Kennedy's relative inexperience and the fact that he was new in his office play in this incident?
4. How did the decision to go ahead with the invasion eliminate the possibility of developing an alternative policy in case the invasion failed?

THE LESSONS OF THE CUBAN DISASTER*

* From Stewart Alsop, "The Lessons of the Cuban Disaster," in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, V. 234, June 24, 1961, 26-27.

In this article Alsop analyzes the way in which the decision was made to embark on a military invasion of Cuba in April of 1961. Alsop states that expert advisers informed President Kennedy that the operation had a great chance of success, but that no one in the government had subjected the intelligence of the CIA and the Defense Department to "a cold and fishey eye." Consequently, Kennedy ordered that the operation proceed, even though his instincts told him that 3,000 refugee soldiers could not overthrow the Castro regime.

READING XXXV

EXECUTIVE DECISION-MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF A SUCCESS

In Reading 34 we studied an executive decision which resulted in a policy that failed. Today we will study a decision which led to a successful policy. Once again the issue was what to do about Cuba. Again President Kennedy made the final decision. Because the same President and the same basic issues were involved in both readings, the process of decision-making was somewhat similar. What accounts for the difference in the success of these policy decisions?

The incident discussed in Reading 35 arose when the United States discovered that Soviet missiles were being set up in Cuba. These missiles could have been used to bombard American cities with atomic or hydrogen warheads. They were a grave threat to the security of the United States, particularly since the Castro regime distrusted us so much after the Bay of Pigs invasion. What should we do about this threat? That was the question which the President and his associates had to answer.

Readings 34 and 35 concern major international questions which involved the security of the entire nation. Most decisions which the President makes are not so important as these. But the process by which he arrives at decisions is similar no matter how important the question. A president must rely on the advice of his associates who gather information for him and make suggestions to him. In the long run, he must make the final decision himself. Such are the responsibilities of his high office. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What were the stages of the decision-making process in this case?
2. What was the decision-making procedure? Why was the information that missile bases were being built not taken directly to the President? Why did he call on certain people for advice? How important was the formal organization of the government at this point? Why keep the decision-making process so secret?
3. What alternative policies were suggested? Why work so hard on the implications of the alternatives which were eventually rejected? Why assign the task of exploring the consequences of alternative policies to men who would not make the final decision?
4. To what extent was experience a factor in improving the decision-making process between the Bay of Pigs affair and the missile crisis? Did Kennedy use his advisers better in the latter instance? In which decision did he leave himself with greater freedom in case his initial policy proved to be a failure?

THE CUBAN CRISIS DECISION OF OCTOBER, 1962

On Sunday afternoon, October 14, 1962, an American Air Force U-2 reconnaissance plane in flight over San Cristobal, Cuba, took pictures of Soviet medium range missiles. Immediately, these photographs went to Washington, where they were developed and analyzed by intelligence officers. By 5:30 P.M. Monday, these officers had decided that Soviet weapons of a type designed for offensive warfare existed in Cuba.

This was a discovery of serious consequences. The President had stated earlier that were the Soviets to place offensive weapons in Cuba, "the gravest issues would arise." Now that they had done so, a decision had to be made as to how the United States would respond.

After the photographs had been further analyzed, to make sure that no mistake had been made, telephone calls began to spread the word to key people in the government. Among these were McGeorge Bundy, the President's Special Advisor on National Security Affairs, Lieutenant General Joseph F. Carroll, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense, U. Alexis Johnson, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political

Affairs, General Maxwell D. Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Roger Hilsman, Director of Intelligence and Research at the State Department.

You can see that most of these men occupied very important, but not the most important, positions in the government. In fact, only one Cabinet member, Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, was informed of the crisis that evening. This lack of communication with the very top men was partly due to a series of various accidents. But the very top men are so busy with such wide ranges of business that it is necessary for their assistants to sift out the most important items and prepare them for the attention of their bosses.

Throughout the night, a team of intelligence experts worked on a report for the President. Mr. Bundy took this report to him in his bedroom about 8:45 the next morning. Within ten minutes the President had given general directions about how the decision-making was to procede and who was to be called in.

At 11:45 A.M., this group assembled in the Cabinet room; it was composed of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State and two of his assistants, the Secretary of Defense and one of his assistants, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, a Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and two of the President's Special Assistants. A few people were to be added to this group later in the week and many people were to be asked to do special assignments for it.

Most of the men selected for the planning group were members of the National Security Council. However, neither that council nor the office of Emergency Planning met officially until the following Sunday after the decision had been made. The President preferred to work outside the bounds of the formal governmental structure.

At the first meeting of the planning group, four alternatives were discussed. The United States might (1) do nothing, (2) bomb the bases, (3) invade the island, or (4) blockade the ports. If the United States were to do nothing, the Soviet Union would win a big political and a big military victory and our allies would cease to believe that we would defend them. If the United States bombed the bases or invaded Cuba, the neutrals and the European allies would cry that our moral position had been tarnished and the Russians would have an excuse for counteraction elsewhere. If the United States blockaded Cuba, the European allies might be irritated because of interferences to their shipping. the Russians might again have an excuse for retaliation and the missile bases already in Cuba might not be disturbed anyway.

There was some feeling that the second, third and fourth alternatives might worsen the situation, but to make no response at all was the worst course to take. The first alternative was virtually dropped at this meeting. It was also decided that the flights of the U-2's over Cuba were to be continued and that action should await better knowledge of the situation in Cuba. Finally, it was decided that all planning should take place in absolute secrecy in order to be able to take the Russians by surprise, whatever the response would be.

Meanwhile, much staff work had to be done. In order for the planners to make intelligent choices, the Pentagon had to produce long studies of the time, the kinds of equipment and the number of men needed for each of the alternatives that had been considered. The State Department had to explore chances of support from our allies in Latin America and in Europe.

On Wednesday, the planning group met in very informal session at the State Department through most of the day and the night. Officials wandered in and out as they had other business to take care of. Sandwiches were brought in as they were needed.

During this day there was some support for a "surgical operation," i.e., an air strike to bomb the missiles out of Cuba. There was also support for a blockade. Invasion was considered impossible as a first step for these reasons: it would take too long to mount and surprise would be impossible; the effect on world opinion would be unfavorable; and the Soviet Union might respond with nuclear warfare. Meanwhile, new photographs of more missile sites were adding urgency to the situation.

The President did not attend the planning session on Wednesday and he was present only at short intervals during the rest of the week. Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara also stayed away many times during the week. The press of other business was partly responsible for this but all three wished to give their subordinates a chance to speak their minds more freely without worrying about how their "boss" would react. Yet, when it was time to make the significant decisions, after the best advice had been obtained, the President made them.

On Thursday, thinking among the planners moved away from a possible air strike, and toward a blockade. At nine o'clock in the evening, nine members of the group went to the White House to confer with the President. There they found that he also was moving toward the alternative of the blockade. From the White House, the Attorney General called his assistant, Nicholas de B. Katzenback, and asked him to begin work on a legal basis for a blockade. Leonard Meeker, Deputy Legal Advisor at the State Department, also began work on the same problem that night.

For some time Friday had been scheduled for the President as the day for campaigning in the Middle West. It was mid-term election time. All of the House and one-third of the Senate was up for election. The President and his advisors decided that he should meet these appointments for speeches if only in order to avoid arousing suspicions that a crisis was brewing in Washington. Thus far, the secret had been maintained rather well.

On Friday, the planners decided that the President should make a speech to the nation of Monday evening to explain the crisis to the American people, and to announce the response that he would take to the Russian threat. Action would have to follow soon thereafter. Monday would be the earliest possible time that all of the necessary preparatory steps could be taken.

During the day there was some renewed interest in an air strike because of the reading of a paper explaining in detail the possible consequences of a blockade. The Attorney General, however, argued against the air strike on moral grounds. He reasoned that an attack on Cuba without warning could easily be compared to the sneak Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, and would hurt not only our reputation in the world, but also our own conscience.

This argument was effective and by the end of the afternoon, the thinkers had pretty well argeed that the choice they would advise the President to make would be the blockade. Nevertheless, they did have thorough staff work done on the alternatives, so that the President could have everything before him when he made the final decision.

The President returned to Washington at 1:30 P.M. on Saturday, was brought up to date by Mr. Bundy and read a first draft of a speech for Monday evening prepared overnight by Theodore Sorensen. (Eventually five drafts of this speech were to be written before it was delivered.) Then, he ordered the army and the navy to prepare for blockade action subject only to final orders the next day. The decision was all but made.

Crisis hung over Washington. At the Pentagon the main points of a blockade proclamation were finished. At the State Department, the approach to the allies was being prepared. A "master scenario" showing everything that would have to be done before the President's speech, that is, orders to embassies, briefings and ship movements, was prepared.

About noon on Sunday the President gave the all-clear signal on the decision for blockade. However, he changed the name to quarantine in order to make the action sound less warlike.

Now it was necessary to implement the decision. First it had to be made known. At the State Department, 43 letters were drafted to Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin. That outpost of freedom, West Berlin, might possibly be the scene of some Soviet counteraction in retaliation for our Cuban quarantine. A letter to Premier Khrushchev was drafted to be delivered with a copy of the Monday evening speech. Instructions were drafted to sixty United States embassies abroad and all embassies and consulates were warned to take precautions against demonstrations and riots.

On Monday morning, twenty Congressional leaders of both political parties were called to Washington. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the President and Secretary Rusk informed them of the crisis and the intended action. This was a matter of courtesy. Congressional leaders had no part in making the decision; it was completely a decision of the executive branch of the government.

At 6:00 P.M., Ambassador Dobrynin of the Soviet Union came by request to Secretary of State Rusk's office, where he was informed of our knowledge of Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba, and of our intended reaction to this Soviet move. Apparently, the secret had been well kept; Ambassador Dobrynin seemed very surprised.

The President began his speech to the nation at 7:00 P.M. He began by presenting evidence of the missile sites and he blamed the Soviets for violating their most solemn assurances that they were sending only defensive weapons to Cuba. He reported that he had ordered a quarantine for all such offensive weapons headed for Cuba and that ships carrying them would be turned back. The work on the missile sites must cease, he said, or else the United States would have to take "further action."

Forty-five minutes before the speech, forty-six allied ambassadors had been briefed on the situation. After the speech the Latin American allied ambassadors were given further briefing. The ambassadors of the neutral nations were briefed at 8:00 P.M.

On Tuesday, the reaction from the rest of the world began to come in. Support from the allies was warm and immediate. The European leaders sent letters and telephone calls of support. The Latin American allies, meeting together in the Organization of American States, unanimously passed a resolution, 10-0, approving the use of force by the United States to enforce the blockade. The Soviet Union, of course, was not so pleased. But its reaction betrayed an uncertainty that convinced officials in Washington that the Kremlin had been caught off guard and was now playing for time in which to make a decision.

The quarantine was proclaimed Tuesday evening to go into effect at 10:00 A.M. Wednesday. It prohibited the importation of offensive missiles, their warheads, their electronic equipment, and bomber aircraft. It ordered the navy to stop and to search any vessels suspected of carrying these items and to take them into custody if they insisted upon continuing their journey to Cuba.

As the quarantine went into effect, twenty-five Soviet ships were on their way to Cuba, but there was no contact between Soviet and American ships that day. Then it became known that twelve of the twenty-five ships had turned around. Apparently these twelve contained the prohibited items. At 8:00 A.M. the next morning, a Communist oil tanker was allowed to proceed to Cuba without search; oil tankers could hardly carry missiles and bombers. Letting the tanker through was also intended as a gesture of good will if the Soviets would cooperate, but the planners in Washington were grim and tough and ready to make another decision to take further action if the quarantine did not rid Cuba of the bases.

What would the next decision have been? The planners seem to have been thinking in terms of expanding the blockade or of some form of air action. Invasion was hardly considered at this point. However, the planners felt that the time had not yet arrived for any further action on Thursday evening nor on Friday evening.

At about 9:00 P.M. on Friday, a letter arrived from Moscow. In it, Premier Khrushchev implied that he would be willing to remove the offensive missiles from Cuba under United Nations supervision if the United States would lift the blockade and would promise that neither it nor any other American nation would invade Cuba. This was a private letter.

The next morning a second letter came. This time a public one, it offered to trade the Soviet bases in Cuba for American bases in Turkey. These American bases had been built years ago as part of our European defense system. Why had the offer changed? Had

Khrushchev been overruled? Was he raising his price? Was he demanding more in public in case his private offer was not accepted? The planners took a gamble. They drafted a note to Moscow all but ignoring the Turkey note. It said in effect that if the United States understood Khrushchev's private offer correctly, then it was a deal.

On Sunday, October 28, exactly two weeks after the first missiles were photographed at San Cristobal, Khrhshchev returned a letter to Washington stating that he had ordered work on the missile bases stopped and the missiles crated and returned home. He added that he trusted there would be no American air attack or invasion. The United States accepted his offer. During the following weeks the missiles were dismantled and sent back to the Soviet Union. The missile crisis was over.

READING XXXVI

LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKING: HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW, I

According to our Constitution, it is the function of Congress to prepare legislation. Therefore, the next three readings on legislative decision-making will focus on Congress and Congressmen. This is not to say that the other branches of government or other groups do not have significant roles to play in determining legislation. The executive branch is important because much legislation is initiated by it. Moreover, the President, by his veto, can determine whether or not a bill will ultimately become a law. Interest groups also fulfill important functions in the legislative process. How these groups work will be described in later readings.

Nevertheless, it is the Congress which makes our laws. There can be no law unless Congress desires to act. Bills can be introduced into each house of Congress only by a member of the respective body. The details of each bill will be determined in the final analysis by the members of Congress. The President and others may suggest pressure, and threaten, but they cannot determine what Congress will do. The major decisions regarding legislation, are still made in the institution intended by the Constitution.

In the reading that follows you will study the way in which a bill is threaded through the legislative decision-making apparatus by an imaginary Congressman named Mr. Smith. As you read, keep in mind the following questions:

1. Who took the initiative to introduce the bill? Why had Smith not introduced this bill before?
2. What decisions were made relative to gaining support for the bill? What actions were taken to carry out these decisions? To what degree was Smith forced to compromise? Why?
3. What problems were posed by the committee stage of action? How were these obstacles overcome? Of what importance are Congressional Committees to legislative decision-making?
4. What special problem was created by the Rules Committee?
5. What problems did Smith face when his bill reached the floor for debate?
6. What additional element to legislative decision-making was created by the need for a conference committee?

THE SMITH BILL RUNS THE GAUNTLET*

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* From James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE: THE DYNAMICS OF AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962) 404-412.

This article follows a hypothetical congressman through the arduous process of shepherding legislation through Congress. Mr. Smith, the congressman's name, is chosen to sponsor minimum wage legislation. The case study tells of the help he gets from the executive branch of government, the help and hindrance coming from various lobbyists, how he handles opposition from high places, how he bargains and cajoles to gain support, and how he guides the bill through the various hurdles established by House and Senate rules of procedure.

READING XXXVII

LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKING

In Reading 36 we studied the legislative decision-making process in the Congress of the United States by tracing the route of Representative Smith's bill through the stages of legislation. We will continue to study legislative decision-making in Reading 37. The reading consists of twenty short excerpts from government documents all of which concern the passage of the Arms Control Agency in 1961.

Your teacher will distribute the excerpts in class. In preparation for discussion, arrange the excerpts in the order that corresponds to the stages of legislative decision-making which you studied in the previous reading. For example, the letter from President Kennedy to the Speaker of the House should be first and the press release from the White House should be last.

In your notebook, make a list of the bills in the order in which you think they should be arranged. Arrange your paper in this order before you come to class so that you will be ready for discussion.

READING XXXVIII

LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKING: THE HUMAN ELEMENT

In the last two readings we have examined the process by which bills become laws. But what of the lawmakers, the men who make legislative decisions? Do they have the time to think through their decisions? How much opportunity do they have to study legislation? With the growth of our country and the national government, the workload of Congressmen has grown also. A few comparisons between the first and the seventy-eighth Congresses make this clear:

	1st Congress	78th Congress
Number of bills introduced	268	7,845
Number of laws enacted	118	1,157
Committee Reports	155	4,709
Nominations Confirmed	211	21,371

Today, Congress is supposed to oversee 2,424,350 federal employees and to provide for a federal budget of some $98 billions.

If he were only a legislative decision-maker, the average Congressman would have all the work he could handle, but passing laws does not exhaust his responsibilities. His constituents also look upon him as their "Washington representative" or errand boy who is always on call to perform a favor for them. Much of a legislator's time is taken up with non-legislative activities. This affects his ability to act wisely as a legislative decision-maker and raises serious questions about the demands our democratic system places on our legislative representatives.

The reading that follows describes a day in the life of Everett Dirksen, now a Senator from Illinois, when he was a member of the House of Representatives in 1943. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Which of the activities described in the reading relate to Dirksen's role as a legislative decision-maker?
2. Which of the activities are merely favors for constituents?
3. Which of the activities seem to you to be of major importance? Minor importance?

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF CONGRESSMAN DIRKSEN *

* From FORTUNE (April, 1943).

This article follows Dirksen, then a congressman from the 16th Illinois district, from a breakfast meeting at 7:45 with one of his constituents, to his office where he received visits from another congressman, a Chicago businessman, and a distiller's representative asking for a favor. Meanwhile Dirksen was also receiving and making calls on the telephone to do other favors, get information, or to some "horse-trading" on proposed legislation. After answering his mail he took two bureaucrats to lunch and then went to the House floor (an hour late) from which he was repeatedly called away to answer telephones, meet visitors, or talk to other congressmen. After attending a small party in another congressman's office, he returned to his own office to clean up some unattended matters and to pack his briefcase with material on legislation that had to be read that night.

READING XXXIX

JUDICIAL DECISION-MAKING: THE TASK OF A JUDGE

Vital decisions are made every day in each of the three major branches of the American government--the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. For the past five days we have studied decision-making in the executive and legislative branches; in this reading and the following one we will study selected aspect of the decision-making process in the courts.

It is clear that decisions arrived at through the courts are often of great significance. Not only do such decisions frequently affect the lives of individuals, but certain decisions may ultimately alter entire American patterns of living. Such a decision was the 1954 verdict in Brown vs. the Topeka Board of Education, in which the Supreme Court declared that segregated public schooling was inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. This decision was both a product of and an impetus toward a greater concern for civil rights in the United States.

Judicial decision-making occurs at many points in addition to the obvious one when the judge hands down his ruling on a case. Decisions were reached when the state decided to prosecute or when an individual citizen or state filed suit against another individual or state. Decisions are reached when the lawyers plan their cases, select the facts they wish to present in court, pick the jury, and choose their witnesses. The judge must decide what evidence is valid and admissible and what procedures are acceptable. In these and many other ways the decision-process is at work.

It is not possible to examine all elements of judicial decision-making in detail in one reading. Therefore, we have selected only one element: the task of the judge in determining a verdict. Naive students sometimes think that a judge's job is easy. "Just look at the law or the Constitution," they say, "set the facts of the case against it, and make the decision." But the judge's task is not so simple. In the first place, the judge must determine what the facts are, and this is not always easy. Witnesses often disagree and the facts are disputed. Then the judge must determine what law should apply. Here again he is beset with difficulties. The case may seem to lie between two laws; furthermore, laws are usually written in general rather than specific terms. It is for the judge to determine what the law really means according to the intentions of the legislators. He has still other decisions to make. The judge must fit facts and law together to decide whether the specific case is covered by one or more laws, whether or not a person is innocent or guilty of breaking the law, and perhaps whether the law is in violation of the Constitution.

In the reading that follows you are given a description of the various kinds of law that influence a judge's decisions and of other factors that influence his judgment. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What is the one law in the United States to which all other laws must conform? Which are the major types of law?
2. Why do lawyers consult many previous cases in drawing up their briefs for presentation to the judge?
3. Is the judicial process a completely objective one?

THE JUDGE AND THE LAW

How does a judge make up his mind? The courts were established to interpret the law. But what kind of law, and why should it require interpretation? Are not laws written so they can be understood by everyone? The truth is, that disputes often arise between men who honestly differ on what the law states. Often our laws are written ambiguously and generally rather than specifically. Our lawmakers are unable to anticipate all the situations that may be required by the new laws. Therefore they frequently leave it to the judges to interpret and to settle specific problems that arise as a result of the application of the law. It becomes the judge's duty to apply the law specifically to cases that come before him, and to do so within the spirit of the legislature's intentions.

What kinds of laws face the judge when he must make a decision? Sometimes judges apply constitutional law. Constitutional law is based on the Constitution itself but includes far more than the Constitution. Constitutional law, in most cases, consists of statements about the interpretation of the Constitution that have been given sanction by the Supreme Court over the years. Such statements and interpretations arise because of the general nature of the Constitution. Therefore in the interpretation of the Constitution the Supreme Court has created, such phrases as the "separate but equal" doctrine and the "clear and present danger" rule, which are taken as precedents by lower courts and used as if they were laws themselves.

A second kind of law is statutory law. Statutory law may include treaties and executive orders, but more often it consists of legislative enactments. Since laws passed by legislatures are often vague or written in a very general way, administrators often interpret the laws as they see fit. But the final decision of what the law really means rests with the courts. Judges are not able to rely simply on their own intelligence or on how an intelligent man might read the law; they must apply legal principles. They try to discover what the intent of the legislation was--that is, what the legislators wanted to accomplish when they wrote the law. This often requires that judges read the debates that led to the formulation of the law. Committee hearings are also studied for clues as to what was intended when the law was written.

Sometimes there is no statutory law to apply to the case before the courts. In this event judges may use a third type of law --common law. Common law may be described as "judge-made" law. Common law originated in England when royal judges went throughout the country settling disputes according to local custom. Their decisions became principles for the entire nation. Other judges read the decisions of one judge in order to find precedent or rules by which they might decide similar cases. Common law as it is applied to the United States, means that decisions of superior courts bind not only the inferior courts to these decisions but also the successors of the judges of the superior courts.

Common law governs many disputes in our country. In fact, statutory law normally follows after common law; it simply codifies what common law has already established.

In other cases judges apply equity as a kind of law. As with common law, equity is a form of "judge-made" law. Sometimes a party who has been injured in a dispute cannot afford to wait until the courts have settled the issues involved because while he's awaiting the trial, he may continue to be injured. For example, if a labor union were improperly picketing an industry, such picketing would be working a hardship on that industry and could prevent production. Yet it may be impossible for the problem to be settled until some months later in court. Meanwhile, the picketing continues. Therefore the management may go to the courts and ask for an injunction to prevent the union from maintaining pickets until the issue had been settled in the courts. The purpose is to prevent the injured party from continuing to be injured until the issue can be settled.

The four types of law described above are the most important types with which judges must deal. But there are some other examples of law as well, for example, admiralty and maritime law, that deals with shipping and commerce on the high seas. Another is administrative law. Within the executive branch a number of agencies have been established by Congress that adopt rules that have the effect of law. An example is the Federal Trade Commission regulation that forbids interstate advertisers to use the word "free" in such a way as to mislead the consumer. The rules and decisions of federal administrators are often reviewed by federal judges, and judges may be called upon to decide whether the administrators have acted properly in the case.

How do cases get to court to be tried by judges? In the first place, judges are not investigators; they do not roam around the country searching for crimes and examples of injustice. Judges may only examine cases that are brought before them. An individual must sue another individual in the courts before the judge can decide the case. Or, if it is a criminal case, the district attorney or the proper investigative official must first decide to prosecute an individual.

Not all disputes can be brought before judges. Judges can only decide disputes that are justiciable--that is, they grow out of real problems and are capable of settlement by legal means. If two individuals argue over which candidate would make the better president, the dispute cannot be settled in the court. A dispute between members of Congress as to what is the proper foreign policy toward a given country is another type of dispute that cannot be settled in the courts. These are political questions rather than legal questions. Secondly, judges can only decide controversies that are real. Two people cannot make up a fictional case in order to test an issue before the courts. Furthermore, one cannot seek justice before the court unless he has himself suffered injury. You cannot challenge the law unless you are injured by the law. You cannot challenge the law simply because you dislike the law and think that it will injure someone else.

Once the case is before him and the judge had decided what kind of law applied, his problem is not yet solved. In deciding most cases it is easy enough to find precedents on both sides of the issue. There are competing principles, each of which might be used to support a given decision. In choosing which principle he will follow, the judge is influenced by his own philosophy, his own conscience, and the times in which he lives. No matter how much a judge tries to divorce himself from such non-objective considerations, he still is an individual beset by the same pressures that afflict other individuals. In choosing which principles he will adopt, and which precedents he will accept, the judge has consciously or unconsciously already made decisions that will affect the final verdict. No matter how much a judge tries to restrain himself and stay within the appropriate functions of his office, a judge is often involved in "making" law as well as "interpreting" it. His interpretations of statutory law will affect how the law will be administered. Furthermore his decisions may establish common law precedents to be followed by other judges for years to come.

It is apparent that the responsibilities of a judge are enormous. His function may be clearly expressed: to provide justice and to interpret the laws. But deciding what is just is not always easy. No less difficult is the task of interpretation when laws sometimes conflict, when a number of interpretations are possible, and when the problem involved is an issue of public controversy.

READING XL

JUDICIAL DECISION-MAKING: THE SUPREME COURT DECIDES

In Reading 39 we studied the tasks of judges generally. Today we shall examine only one court--the Supreme Court--and the way in which its nine judges make up their minds. The Constitution provides for one Supreme Court. It was left to Congress to establish inferior courts as they were needed. But it was obvious to the founding fathers that a Supreme Court was required if the national government was to have the power to pass laws that control the states. Such a tribunal was necessary as a last source of appeal when conflicts arose over the enactment and interpretation of such laws.

Today there are a number of federal courts including district courts, appeals courts, customs courts, and others. But the highest and most venerated court of all remains the Supreme Court of the United States. Its members are known to the public; its decisions are headlined in the newspapers and hotly debated in our homes. It has the last word in interpreting the Constitution. As Justice Felix Frankfurter once stated, "The Supreme Court is the Constitution," for the Constitution is only what the Supreme Court says that it is. The Supreme Court also interprets federal laws and is potentially the last court of appeal for cases arising in the federal courts. It also can accept under certain circumstances appeals from decisions of state supreme courts. Furthermore, the Supreme Court is responsible for administering justice in the various federal courts.

In the reading that follows you will learn the steps by which the Supreme Court reaches a decision. Keep in mind that many of the factors considered in Reading 39 apply here as well. There are, however, certain practices unique to the Supreme Court that make it an interesting and valuable case study in judicial decision-making.

As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What are the stages of decision-making in the Supreme Court?
2. Why does the Court accept certain cases and reject others?
3. How are the Court's opinions written and agreed upon?
4. What is the function of oral argument before the Court?
5. Why does the dissent differ markedly in form and style from the majority opinion?

HOW THE SUPREME COURT REACHES DECISIONS *

* From Anthony Lewis, "How the Supreme Court Reaches Decisions," in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, December 1, 1957, 51-54.

The article chronicles the decision making process in the Supreme Court. The Justices first decide upon which cases to hear by reviewing memoranda prepared by their clerks in a weekly conference. Once a case is selected to be heard, a date for oral arguments on the case is set. The two sides prepare a brief outlining their arguments, and appear in court on the chosen day. The lawyers for each side present their arguments, often getting interrupted by questions from the justices. The justices then meet in conference to discuss the case and reach a decision. One of the justices is then given the job of writing the opinion. After the opinion is written it is sent to the other justices for comment. Other drafts follow, and finally the court hands down its decision, allowing for dissenting opinions to be presented as well.

READING XLI

DECISION-MAKING IN FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

In the Executive branch of the United States government in 1960, there were 58 independent administrative agencies whose function was to help carry out laws that have been enacted by Congress. When it is writing legislation, Congress cannot forsee every single problem in the application of the legislation to actual situations. Someone or some group of men must be placed in a position to give authoritative interpretations to the laws as particular problems arise.

The administrative agencies, run by men appointed by the President and approved by the Senate, are given this task of regulation. Within the terms of laws made by the Congress, they issue specific regulations for industries, businesses and other groups. They look over the practices of these groups to make sure that they are obeying the law. When they are not, the agencies bring them into court. Finally, whenever conflicts arise between two groups, agencies hold hearings on the claims and make decisions as to which group is right. If the losing group wishes, an appeal can then be made to the federal courts.

In previous readings we have analyzed decision-making in the three major branches of our government. In Reading 41 you will learn that the lines separating executive, legislative, and judicial functions become blurred so that a federal agency may be performing all three duties. Although federal agencies were originally established to administer laws of Congress (an executive function) the rules they establish to carry out their activities often gain the force of law (a legislative function). When the agencies' rules are broken, the violators are brought to a hearing and, if found guilty, are punished (a judicial function).

In today's assignment, you will read about three of these agencies: the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Power Commission. The Federal Communications Commission applies relevant laws to the radio, television, telephone and telegraph businesses. Competition in business and false advertising is regulated by the Federal Trade Commission, and overseeing the oil, gas and electric industries is the duty of the Federal Power Commission.

Your reading for today tells of four cases in which these Federal administrative agencies were at work doing the kinds of things mentioned above. As you read these four cases, ask yourself these questions:

1. Why do federal administrative agencies exist and what purposes do they serve?
2. In each of the cases that follow, is the agency acting primarily in an executive, legislative, or judicial capacity?

The first selection tells of an agency that issued a specific regulation that would apply to a whole industry. What was this rule? Why did the agency make it?

SELECTION NO. I

Adapted from "FPC Adopts Area-Pricing for Gas," Business Week, October 1, 1960, p. 113.

To relieve itself of the burden of deciding individually hundreds of cases involving the price at which natural gas can be sold by gas producers, the Federal Power Commission set up in the fall of 1960 a scale of prices for each gas producing area, indicating the amounts to be charged by the companies in that area for their products. Since 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission could regulate the price of natural gas at the wellhead if it were sold in interstate commerce, the Commission had been establishing prices for companies one by one.

Gas producers struggled in Congress to get legislation to overthrow the Supreme Court's decision, but were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the Federal Power Commission tried to solve the problem of how to handle the administrative burden of regulating several thousand independent gas producers. Area pricing was its answer. Area pricing was also challenged in the courts, but in 1963 the Supreme Court upheld the area pricing system.

The second and third selections illustrate the policing functions of the administrative agencies. In both readings the Federal Trade Commission looks over the practice of a business to find out if it is disobeying the law. In selection 2, the Commission believes that the business is not disobeying the law; in the third selection, the Commission has its doubts. What was the problem being investigated in the second selection? What was the Commission's decision? What was the alleged wrongdoing in selection 3? Why was the Justice Department involved?

SELECTION NO. 2

Adapted from "FTC Decides to Leave Trading Stamps Alone," Business Week, October 12, 1957, p. 131.

After months of digging and head-scratching, the Federal Trade Commission says it does not think trading stamp plans, in themselves, are illegal. Thus it calls a halt on its special inquiry, sparked two years ago by Congressional criticism and public complaints. Stamp plans will, of course, continue to be under routine study.

Federal Trade Commission staffers have said that they were checking for possible illegal practices--such as price discrimination in the sale of stamps; exclusive dealing or other types of collusion entered into by stamp companies and their customers.

SELECTION NO. 3

Adapted from "FTC Hales in Drug Makers," Business Week, August 9, 1958, p. 32.

This week the Federal Trade Commission came out with a 350-page economic report with charges that leading manufacturers of antibiotics were deliberately keeping prices up and keeping competition out of the market.

The economic report presents findings that up to 1956 the companies were still charging for their products what they charged back in 1951 although the cost of manufacturing the drugs had been reduced. Consumers were paying $8.10 for 16 capsules while retailers paid $5.10. On the other hand, the armed services--the only customer benefiting from price reductions since 1951--were paying about $1.76 for the same number of capsules.

The Federal Trade Commission can seek a court order for the companies to cease these practices. On the other hand, the antitrust lawyers of the Justice Department say they may well come up with law suits of their own. The Justice Department could file a price-fixing and monopoly suit, seeking fines and criminal penalties.

The fourth selection gives an example of an agency holding hearings and making decisions. In it, the Federal Communications Commission prepares to hold hearings on pay-television in Hartford, Connecticut. Who took part in the hearings on the Hartford station? Why? How did the Commission make its decision?

SELECTION NO. 4

Adapted from "At Last a Viewing for Over-the-Air Pay-TV," Business Week, October 22, 1960, pp. 28-29.

The Federal Communications Commission will open hearings on a proposal by Zenith Radio Corporation and RKO General, Inc., to operate a pay-TV station in Hartford for a three-year trial period.

Pay-TV's history traces back through ten years of power lobbying. Public relations outlays have been lavish on both sides.

Few voices will be raised against the application in next week's hearings. The networks won't even be present. They are leaving free TV's representation to the National Association of Broadcasters. The Theater Owners Association, long a bitter enemy of pay-TV, will be sending in Hartford movie exhibitors to testify against pay-TV. The Connecticut Committee against Pay-TV, composed of veterans, women, and civic groups, is the only other opponent.

Federal Communications Commission Charman Frederick Ford told reporters that the practical outcome of the hearings would be considerably affected by their form. If they had been hearings before an examiner, pay-TV opponents would still have had available a series of time-consuming legal maneuvers. Since the Commission is sitting with all seven Commissioners present, any decision can be speedily put into effect. The Federal Communications Commission set precisely one week for the matter, invited only directly interested parties to participate, and limited the right of cross-examination.

The FCC eventually approved the proposal and a pay-TV station is now operating on a trial basis.

READING XLII

DECISION-MAKING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE CONCEPT OF A POWER ELITE

Thus far in this section we have examined decision-making as it takes place in formal governmental institutions at the national level. In Readings 42 and 43, we will study decision-making at the local level. However, rather than study decision-making within the framework of the government itself, we shall look for political decision-makers outside the formal structure of government, among the business and professional leaders of the community.

Every society, except perhaps the most primitive, is divided into social classes. Even a society such as our own that pays homage to the principle of equality supports social inequality. People give higher status to those occupations that require skill and training. People who hold similar occupations, possess similar education, and receive similar incomes tend to share similar goals and attitudes, to interact socially with each other more than with other groups, and to pick their mates from members of their own group. Such a group is termed a social class by sociologists.

American society, like other complex societies, has many social classes. Members of one class can be distinguished quite readily from the members of other classes by attitudes, occupations, and material possessions. Societies themselves are also distinguished by social values. In a society that places value on age, the elders of the tribe are the most revered and powerful. In medieval Europe in which Christianity was a dominant value, the leaders of the Church had considerable social, political, and economic power. In societies such as our own where material wealth and security are sought after, the groups and classes having wealth in great abundance possess more power than do other groups or classes.

In the effort to identify those groups or classes that possess a major portion of political power, social scientists have coined the term "power elite." Although some scholars have described what they believe to be "power elites" or "Establishments" at national, state, and local levels, not all social scientists are satisfied with the validity of the concept. Some argue that no such elite exists, that various groups influence decisions from time to time, and that it is impossible to discover any one group or class that consistently determines policy at any level of government. Still others who discount the existence of power elites at state and national levels do acknowledge the importance of elite groups at the local level of government.

The power elite concept implies that the most important political decisions are sometimes made outside of the formal structure of government by non-professional politicians and that the city government lends its support once it learns of the decisions. In fact, the city officials themselves are probably chosen to run for office and supported in their campaigns by the elite. In this sense, the city officials are likely to be indebted to the members of the power elite.

In this reading we shall confine our examination of the "power elite" to the local level, because it is at this level that there is most agreement that such a group exists. Floyd Hunter, author of Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers, attempted to discover how the power structure of an American urban community of half-a-million persons functions. While he studied an actual community, he gave it a fictional name. He called his community Regional City. He studied forty of Regional City's top leaders. Hunter found that of those considered most influencial more than half were businessmen. The remainder of the top group included professionals, particularly corporation lawyers, government personnel and "status people"--civic and social leaders--in approximately equal numbers, plus a smaller number of labor leaders.

To determine how involved those considered Regional City's top leaders really were in the decision making activities of the community, many of the leaders were interviewed. One such interview is quoted below. Again, the names used are fictitious. As you read this interview, consider the following questions:

1. Does the power elite, in the incident described by James Treat, fit the pattern of power structure in Regional City described by Floyd Hunter?

2. Is this elite, as Treat describes it, a cohesive and permanent group which would be in existence to make decisions on all matters confronting the community?

3. How was the elite, in this particular instance, brought together? Would the fact that this was a local situation have any effect on the ease of bringing a group together in this way?

4. Was the composition of the elite affected by the particular decision to be made?

5. How does the elite concept fit your view of democratic government?

THE POWER ELITE IN REGIONAL CITY *

* From Floyd Hunter, COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE: A STUDY OF DECISION MAKERS, (Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press: 1953), 172-173.

The interview recorded in this selection indicates that a very small group of men follow the lead of the "biggest man in our crowd." He gets his followers together, makes a proposal, and his six followers begin lining up support for it from among their friends. Then a number of other "crowds" are brought into the project at a meeting held at one of the local clubs. They follow the lead and approve the board of directors and executive head of the organization to be established. Finally the press is informed of the project, and the community follows the lead.

READING XLIII

DECISION-MAKING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE POWER ELITE IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

In Reading 42 we examined one social scientist's idea of the way in which the "power elite" of a particular community worked when faced with a non-controversial local problem. Today we are going to analyze the role of another power elite in handling an extremely controversial and explosive local problem.

A few years ago several decisions had to be made in Birmingham, Alabama when racial tensions rose to a pitch of violence and threatened the entire community. The first decision was made in November, 1961. The city commissioner of public safety arrested the manager of the city bus terminals four times in two weeks. He had served Negroes in integrated facilities, in accordance with the desegregation ruling of the federal Interstate Commerce Commission; but this practice violated local ordinances. Two months later all the city's parks, community centers and golf courses were closed rather than let them be used by the Negro public. Bad publicity for Birmingham followed in the newspapers, and in 1962, the citizens of Birmingham voted the city administration out of office in a special referendum. The members of the administration refused to leave office, arguing that the referendum was illegal; and the matter was referred to the State Supreme Court.

It was in the midst of this political turmoil that Birmingham's Negroes were moved to action. They organized a highly effective economic boycott, refusing, for example, to patronize stores that discriminated, and staged mass demonstrations to force desegregation of public facilities.

Once the conflict broke out into the open, the United States Justice Department entered the picture, hoping to bring the two warring factions together. In view of the fact that there were two city governments, one rejected by voters and the other not yet installed, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall of the

Justice Department decided to deal with neither. Instead, he set up negotiations between Negro leaders and representatives of what might be called the economic power structure of the city. How these negotiations developed and what ultimately resulted from these negotiations can be learned from the following excerpts, taken from various editions of the New York Times. As you read these excerpts, consider the following questions:

1. Does an identifiable pattern of leadership for the Negro community in Birmingham evolve from the newspaper accounts? Do they compose a Negro power elite?
2. Can one identify a power structure for Birmingham's white community?
3. Is this power structure comparable to that identified by Hunter in Regional City?
4. Is this "power elite" strong enough to enforce a decision it might make concerning the racial conflict?
5. Is this elite a cohesive, unchanging group?
6. Under what circumstances might the power of an accepted elite group be threatened?
7. Who were some of the participants of earlier attempts to reach an agreement on desegregation? Why do you think those earlier attempts failed?

WHAT HAPPENED IN BIRMINGHAM?*

May 7, 1963, p. 1 (Birmingham) About 1,000 Negroes were arrested today as wave after wave of marchers chanted challenges to segregation. . . . Dick Gregory. . .Chicago comedian, led the first group of. . .marchers. . . . The last wave followed Barbara Deming. . .a (white) writer for The Nation magazine. . . .

May 11, 1963, p. 9 (Birmingham) A dozen men hammered out the settlement of Birmingham's racial crisis on the living-room

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floor of a Negro insurance executive's home. . . .

> The crisis was headed off by Justice Department officials, who played an important role pushing the negotiations to their successful conclusion.
>
> The Attorney General persuaded Mr. Shuttlesworth (head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights) to hold off further demonstrations. . .to give the negotiations more time. . . .
>
> The negotiations this week. . .marked the fourth major effort in the past five weeks to solve the racial dispute.
>
> The first attempt was made by a number of clergymen. . . . Later a group of student demonstrators from Miles College, a Negro school. . .sought unsuccessfully to work out some agreement with downtown merchants on lunch-counter desegregation.
>
> A third effort was made by some of the same white and Negro leaders who helped to produce today's agreement. But their efforts fell through. . . .
>
> After the major Negro demonstrations started, the Justice Department moved into the picture. . . .
>
> The first key bargaining sessions were held Monday night at the brick-and-frame ranch-style home of John J. Drew, the Negro insurance executive.
>
> The white business community was represented by Sidney W. Smyer, (an independently wealthy) real estate man and former president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and by two young lawyers. (Mr. Smyer, a 66-year-old family socialite was the only white negotiator publicly associated with the pact.)
>
> Local Negroes were represented by Mr. Drew, H.H. Pitts, president of Miles College, Mr. Shuttlesworth, the Rev. Harold Long, Arthur D. Shores, a lawyer, and A.G. Gaston, a businessman.
>
> Dr. King, Mr. Abernathy and the Rev. Andrew Young participated in behalf of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
>
> The Justice Department's representatives were Mr. Marshall

> and Mr. Dalan.
>
> Not all were present at the bargaining sessions. And in between the main bargaining sessions at Mr. Drew's home, there were smaller meetings at other sites.
>
> The business representatives left the meeting Tuesday, about 3 A.M. convinced that the Negroes major demands would have to be met in at least general terms.
>
> The following afternoon Mr. Smyer summoned the Senior Citizens Committee, a group of about 75 Birmingham industrial, commercial and professional leaders to an emergency session.
>
> Also present at the meeting were Mayor Albert Boutwell and members of the new City Council. . . .
>
> The Meeting heard a report from Sheriff Melvin Bailey that the local enforcement agencies had been "strained to the utomost of (their) capacity". . . . Mr. Smyer . . .said the sheriff had reported that unless the demonstrations were stopped and order restored the next step would be the declaration of martial law.
>
> Faced with this alternative, the Senior Citizens Committee empowered a subcommittee composed of the three negotiators and several other business leaders to come to terms with the Negro leaders.
>
> The most important negotiation session of the week followed that evening, again in Mr. Drew's home. . . .
>
> During this session, Mr. Young was reported to have taken the initiative in winning essential agreement on the major elements of the settlement package. . . .

May 11, 1963 (Birmingham), p. 1. A full agreement on limited desegregation package plan apparently brought an end today to this city's 5-week racial crisis.

May 12, Sec. E, p. 3:

> In the long run the only real solution to the ancient discrimination against Negroes in Birmingham, as the Justice Department sees it, is to change the ruling white forces there--change their understanding and their actions. . . .

> The Attorney General sent his assistant for civil rights, Burke Marshall, to Birmingham to act as a mediator. He had the excruciating job of holding down the revolutionary pressure among the Negroes while persuading the white business community to adjust to a changing world. And he accomplished this without any real power except that of the mind. . . .

May 12, Sec. E, p. 3:

> Even now the 75 business and professional leaders of Birmingham who endorced the efforts of the negotiators and, in effect, assumed their sponsorship, are still unwilling to have their names disclosed. This. . . raised considerable doubt over the prospect for implementation of the agreement.

May 13, 1963 (Washington) p. 1:

> President Kennedy tonight dispatched Federal troops to bases near Birmingham. . .for use if racial violence breaks out again.
>
> His action followed three hours of rioting early this morning in which 50 persons were injured. . . .
>
> Alarmed by the turn of events, members of both the Chamber of Commerce and the newly elected City Council met hurriedly this afternoon in an attempt to restore interracial peace. . . .

May 15, 1963 (Birmingham) p. 1:

> White business and civic leaders declined today to endorse publicly a limited desegregation plan that ended mass Negro demonstrations.
>
> Many people feel that without such an endorsement there can be little hope for implementation of the plan or for preservation of the current truce in this city's racial crisis. . . .
>
> The agreement was announced last Friday, after 5 weeks of demonstrations by Negroes under the leadership of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Movement for Human Rights, who also played a leading role in the desegregation campaign.

> Aside from the refusal of the business community to take a public stand in support of the plan, marked differences over its provisions have been apparent in the statements of the whites and Negroes involved.
>
> Also, officials from Gov. George C. Wallace on down have directed a flood of criticism against negotiators and their backers.
>
> These attacks, according to reliable sources, have been reinforced by attempts to bring pressure on the business community to renounce the agreement. . . .

May 16, 1963 (Birmingham) p. 1:

> A handful of business and industrial leaders won a measure of public support today for a limited desegregation plan worked out by a biracial negotiating committee.
>
> Sixty members of the Senior Citizens' Committee, the group of prominent executives who appointed the white negotiators, voted to publicize the names of all persons connected with the committee. (When, under pressure, the Senior Citizens Committee--the parent body of the white negotiation team--released the names of all the community leaders who had been connected with it since its formation last August, the names were simply listed in alphabetical order. The list included business executives, industrialists, a former governor, but no downtown merchants.)
>
> . . .(T)he statement accompanying the names carried no endorsement of the desegregation pact. James Mills, editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald. . . , a spokesman for the group, said the endorsement was implied.
>
> Sources within the committee said earlier that the reason underlying the committee's failure to speak out publicly in support of actions and its subcommittee was the pressure that had been exerted on the business community from state and local segregationists in official positions. . . .

June 3, 1963 (New York) p. 1. James Baldwin (Negro author who has been actively crusading for equal rights) sees hope for racial peace in the United States despite a rising tide of violence in both North and South. . . .

> "The Birminghams cannot be stopped," he said. "They can happen in New York and elsewhere in the country. There

is drift and danger today. . . ."

The policy of "deals" to buy Negro contentment is finished, he said, because the white power structure has nothing left to offer the Negro in exchange for continued quiescence.

"And the time for deals has also passed," he said, because "no man can claim to speak for the Negro people today. There is no one with whom the white power structure can negotiate a deal that will bind the Negro people. . . ."

READING XLIV

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY*

In the first three weeks of this section on decision-making we focused our attention on certain aspects of American political decision-making. We examined federalism and the separation of powers and their effect on decision-making. We also looked at decision-making as it occurs in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of our government. Finally, we studied decision-making at the local level as it is influenced by political power elites. Throughout the section on American decision-making, the problem was one of selection. In the United States there are so many groups and institutions both within and outside the government contributing to the formulation of policy, in many cases independently of each other, that a student is almost overwhelmed when he begins to approach the problem of decision-making.

In the Soviet Union the problem is quite the reverse. Rather than a large number of groups competing in decision-making, there are relatively few groups that have real impact on policy. Therefore, our task at first glance appears to be simpler. However, it is also more complex because those institutions that do participate in decision-making are largely hidden from Western eyes. American scholars who study Soviet politics believe that they can identify the institutions that have a primary role in making decisions but they are not able to determine how those institutions operate because of the secrecy surrounding Soviet political practices. It is the difference between an open and a closed society. In our society there are various ways that we can find out what our decision-makers are doing. In many cases they are forced to function before the public. Newspaper reporters can observe the goings and comings of individuals to the White House. We can study government documents and press releases to find out what is happening. Although American political decision-makers try to keep some aspects of the decision process under wraps for personal and security reasons, students of American politics are able to reconstruct in rather fine detail the process by which decisions are reached.

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*The materials in this reading are adapted from those found in Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel P. Huntington, POLITICAL POWER: USA/USSR. Viking Press (New York: 1964) with the permission of the publisher.

In the Soviet Union no such opportunity exists. Russian newspapers do not publish the results of the important councils of the Communist Party. American newsmen have little or no access to sources of information other than those that the Soviet leaders want them to have. Former leaders of the Communist Party do not, with rare exceptions, publish diaries or memoirs describing in detail how decisions were reached at any one conference.

Therefore, when we construct how decisions are reached in the Soviet Union, we must operate as much on hunch as on precise and detailed information. Yet within certain broad generalizations some ideas can be well established. Perhaps the most important of these ideas is that the Communist Party apparatus is the primary source of decision-making and those who are in the commanding heights of the Party have the greatest opportunity to participate in the decision process.

In Reading 35 you learned that formal rules outlinedin the Soviet constitution, including problems of separation of powers and federalism, had little to do with how the Soviet government operates. There is wide agreement among scholars that the study of Soviet decision-making must begin, and some might say end, with a study of the Communist Party. This we will do in our study, but we will use examples from American experience because the contrast will help us to better understand the Soviet process. As you read, keep in mind the following questions:

1. Why is decision-making tied to the struggle for power in the USSR?
2. Do Soviet decision-makers have to contend with competing groups and institutions?
3. Do Soviet decision-makers have to be alert to public opinion?
4. Why is unanimity both desirable and possible in the Presidium?
5. Where is the source of decision-making in the USSR?

In all nations there is a tie between the struggle to gain and maintain support and decision-making. A man cannot control the decision process unless he is a decision-maker. Most Americans do not have direct, personal influence in our domestic and foreign policies because they do not hold important positions of power. Lyndon Johnson is our most important decision-maker, not because he is Lyndon Johnson, a Texan and American, but because he is President of the United States. Yet, in the United States the struggle to gain power and policy formulation are separate in time and in the minds of Americans. As we have already observed, the process of gaining and maintaining support for American politicians is primarily the task of political parties. But once the elections are over, the parties have relatively little to say about public policy. On the national level it is primarily institutions such as the President, the Congress, the executive departments, and the courts as well as interest groups that determine what policy will be. Yet these institutions play little role in choosing the political leaders.

In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party not only recruits, trains, and gains support for the Soviet political leaders; it also makes policy. Whereas in the United States, the processes of office seeking and policy making tend to be separate, in the Soviet Union the two are closely intertwined. In the United States we first choose our leaders, and then policy making begins. Americans have long since learned that what a politician says in a platform or during a campaign sometimes has little or no relevance to what he will do after he is elected. In the Soviet Union, however, the struggle of leaders for support is often a part of policy formulation. A Soviet leader often arrives at the pinnacle of power because of the policies he proposes. As we have already observed in the reading on Khrushchev, each leader or faction within the highest circles of the Party attempts to draw support from groups that can aid him in the drive to power. Each strives to justify its policy by ideology and to label the policy of its opponents as heresy. Once one group emerges victorious, those policies become the policy of the country, at least for a time. A power takeover is accompanied by a policy takeover. In contrast, in the United States, the change from one administration to another rarely brings a marked change in either domestic or foreign policy.

In the United States decision-makers tend to operate in isolation from each other and to maintain their own perspective as to what is needed. In a sense no other person has the

President's perspective. He is the only one who is in a position to see the needs of the country as a whole. All other groups tend to represent special interests. The governor of a state feels that the problems facing his state are more important than the problems facing any other state. Members of Congress represent states or districts within states and push the interests of their locality ahead of all others. We are too familiar with the member of Congress who on the one hand asks for a cut in federal spending and on the other hand asks for a federal project in his area.

The President must see the problems of the nation as a whole. His task, once policy has been initiated, is to win the support of the various groups that can aid or hinder the policy's realization. He must win the support of interest groups, his administrators, congressmen, and ultimately the courts. This means that the President must engage in continual bargaining if he is to get anything accomplished. He must be willing to politick, to give and take with others if he is to gain their support. Although the American President has many political weapons at his disposal, he must also satisfy many different groups.

In the Soviet Union, the relationship between the central political leadership and other groups in Soviet society is much more one of control and manipulation than bargaining. Soviet decision-makers need fewer political weapons in order to gain support. There are no interest groups or other elite groups with independent power which the Soviet leader may use to gain acceptance of his policy. By the same token, the Soviet leader does not have to contend with these groups. Since all groups that exist in the Soviet Union are controlled by the Communist Party, the key resource is control of the Party organization.

When Stalin gained control of the entire Party apparatus and all the subsidiary organizations that depended upon it, he was able to do largely as he pleased. In the period following Stalin's death, when there were several leaders, all of whom shared a measure of power, bargaining took place among the contenders for political power. The checks on a Soviet decision-maker do not arise from competing institutions and organizations that have a measure of decision-making power of their own, but from his own colleagues within the top leadership of the Communist Party. The rivals of the President of the United States are scattered throughout the country. The rivals of the Soviet Premier are with him around the conference table in the Kremlin.

This does not mean that Soviet leaders are immune to public pressure and public opinion; it does mean that there are no organized groups that represent public opinion with which they have to deal and on whom they are dependent for election. The problem of Soviet leaders is primarily one of keeping the public happy and satisfied. Workers, peasants, professionals, military men, and industrial managers are not in a position to help to shape policy. American famers may actually write the farm policy for a given administration. In the Soviet Union the process is far more indirect. Soviet leaders wish to keep peasants happy and plan policies that will increase production and mechanization on the farm, but the peasants will not write the agricultural policy for the Soviet Union. This will be done by the leaders.

There is no doubt that decision-making is in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Secretariat of the Communist Party. Here are found the key leaders of the USSR. The Secretariat is responsible for the day by day operations of the Party. It is the job of the Secretariat to place officials throughout the country and see to the recruitment and training of leaders. It was as head of the Secretariat, or First Secretary, that Khrushchev began his rise to power. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party is by definition the chief policy making body in the Communist Party. It presently consists of twelve full-time members and six candidate members. It meets at least once each week. It was within the Presidium that Khrushchev carried on his struggle to become the top leader of the USSR. As we have seen, the factions and alliances which were formed during Khrushchev's drive to power arose over issues of policy.

There are other differences between the United States and the USSR. In the United States those who influence decision-making are scattered over the entire spectrum of political thought in this country. Theyrepresent such diverse types as Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Governor George Wallace, the segregationist governor of Alabama. Each of these men in his own way has access to political power that he may use in an attempt to get policies adopted. Although their values and goals differ, no president dare ignore these men and the groups they represent.

In the Soviet Union, the principal bargainers are very much like each other. They share the same goals and values. They are all, or almost all, members of the Party apparatus. They are committed to the same ideology. They have had the same experiences. Most of them have been in the Presidium or the Secretariat for a number of years. We may expect a high degree of agreement among them. The policy differences that do occur, however, are likely to become sharp because these differences in policies are inherently related to their own struggle for power.

Decision-making bodies like the Presidium usually act unanimously. It is rarely necessary to have formal votes. Controversial issues are generally avoided and informal procedures are used to arrive at decisions. Mikoyan, one of the members of the Presidium, has said that when it is impossible to get agreement, the Presidium sometimes adjourns; the members sleep on the matter and return for further discussion until unanimity is achieved. In the Soviet system it is dangerous for individuals to oppose the majority. Sharp divisions on specific policies eventually become contests for power.

In the United States an agreement between bargainers can be enforced only when it is made public, when men have gone on record as taking a certain stand. This means that bargaining takes place where all can see. Victories and defeats are all apparent to the public. Often newspapers run scorecards of how well the president is doing with his legislation before Congress. Aware that their concessions and defeats will be judged openly in the public, American decision-makers press harder for their demands and stick to their guns longer than they would otherwise.

In contrast, bargaining among Soviet leaders goes on behind closed doors of the Kremlin. Rarely do we learn what individuals took what sides. The only thing the public learns is that the leadership unanimously agreed to a given policy. Such secrecy has its rewards. Participants can bargain more easily, change sides, and come to agreement without loss of face. Therefore, secrecy not only gives the appearance of unity but also helps in achieving it.

Agreement within the Presidium is also made possible because some of its members are specialists in various aspects of domestic or foreign policy. This means that some members carry more weight on certain issues than others. If an issue on international Communist affairs arises, presumably some members will have greater influence than others. Such a division of responsibility and specialization contributes to a reduction of internal tensions and quarreling. Furthermore, when matters of great importance face the Presidium, an even more select body may be called upon to make a final decision.

During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, when decisions arrived at meant the difference between war and peace, Khrushchev apparently did not call in all the Presidium members but only certain individuals. It was this inner group, within the Presidium, that ultimately made the decision to withdraw the missiles from Cuba. Interestingly enough, on the other side of the globe, President Kennedy similarly restricted the number of people who advised him. Restricting the decision-making process to a very small group makes possible speed and agreement.

Vital political decisions in the United States and the Soviet Union are made in drastically different ways. In the United States, decision-making is diffused among many people and many levels; in the Soviet Union it is concentrated. In the United States, most decision-making takes place publicly; in the Soviet Union, it takes place in secret. In the United States the wishes of individuals and of interest groups always play a role in decision-making; in the Soviet Union the interests of the Party and the state are predominant. These differences illustrate the contrast between a democratic and a totalitarian society.

READING XLV

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS*

In Reading 44 you learned a number of things about decision-making in the USSR. Among these were that the decision process is quite different from that in the United States, that the source of decision-making lies in the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Communist Party, and that policy making is inextricably linked with the struggle of Soviet leaders for power. In Reading 45 we will study the stages of the decision-making process. As in the last reading, American as well as Soviet examples are used to add emphasis and clarity. Such an approach should not only increase our knowledge of the Soviet decision-making process but also increase our understanding about the same process in the United States.

For purposes of analysis the decision-making process in any country can be divided into four phases: initiation, which arises from a need within a country and leads to the formulation of a proposal to handle that need; persuasion, which involves the efforts to build up general support for the proposal; decision, which comes after the proposal has been discussed and modified and then is either approved or vetoed by the highest decision-makers; and execution, which sees the policy put into action. Even then the decision process has not really ended for as we observed with the American bureaucracy, those groups which execute policies sometimes refine and remake them. In some cases they modify a policy to achieve the goals of the decision-makers; in other cases their decisions run counter to the wishes of the policy makers.

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*The ideas included in this reading are based on and adapted from Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel P. Huntington, POLITICAL POWER: USA USSR. Viking Press (New York:1964) with the permission of the publisher.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What are the four stages in the decision process?
2. What advantages does a Soviet decision-maker have over his counterpart in the United States?
3. Why can Soviet leaders gain agreement on proposals that differ sharply from former practices more easily than American decision-makers can?
4. In which of the two countries would you expect the greater integration of one policy with another?

The first stage in the decision process of any country is the initiation of a proposal to meet the need which has arisen. The problem of identifying the sources of such proposals is difficult in any situation; it is almost impossible in the Soviet Union. Our lack of precise information, however, does not prevent us from making certain generalizations comparing the degree in which the decision-makers themselves are the source of proposals.

In the United States leaders tend not to initiate policies. In general American leaders approve, bargain, and persuade rather than initiate. The 1964 Civil Rights Law is an outstanding example of this phenomenon. While President Kennedy had given general endorsement to the civil rights plank in the 1960 Democratic platform, he had no intention of sending a strong civil rights bill to the Congress. It was not until 1962 and 1963 when Negroes and their supporters took to the streets that the demand for action in civil rights became so strong it could not be ignored. Then the President sent his request for a bill to Congress. In the United States, policy proposals normally begin with interest groups who must demonstrate a real need before they gain the attention of Congress and the administration. Even within the administration, proposals begin at lower levels of the bureaucracy and gradually rise to the top levels of the leadership where a final decision is made. Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, once said that it should be "clear to anyone with experience in government that the springs of policy bubble up, they do not trickle down."

From what little we know about the Soviet decision-making process, it appears that the situation is quite different. According to Lenin's theory of democratic centralism, policy was supposed to originate with the rank and file party members and gradually percolate up to the leadership; once the top leaders decided upon a policy, then all party members were to conform. This is what is implied in the term "party line." Occasionally ideas and proposals do "bubble up" to the Party and government leaders, but the primary responsibility for initiating new policy seems to rest with the top leadership of the Party. Certainly the first formal proposal of a new policy begins with the leaders. Policy may be started with an informal note. The Soviet decision to accelerate the expansion of the chemical industry began in this way. Khrushchev first circulated his plan among leaders of the Party; it was discussed in the Presidium and later announced to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on December 9, 1963.

The new policies which have developed under Khrushchev tend to follow a pattern. First, there is a period of increasing difficulties and discontent during which various groups make their complaints heard. Secondly, there is a denunciation of the problem and its supposed causes by one or more top Party leaders. Third, a period of several weeks goes by during which the Party's leaders decide what they will do to meet the problem. Finally a proposal appears which the leaders expect will resolve the difficulty. Clearly within this format policy initiation belongs to the top leadership.

The second stage in decision-making is persuasion. Persuasion is the attempt to build support for a proposal. In the United States this is a crucial period for no proposal is likely to be accepted that does not enjoy wide support. The 1964 Civil Rights Law would never have become a proposal had there not been strong support for such a law. In the Soviet Union, there will be no organized opposition to a policy once the Party has agreed to it. As a result, the persuasion stage takes a somewhat different form in the Soviet Union than in the United States. In the United States, persuasion begins prior to initiation and reaches its peak before decision. In the Soviet Union, persuasion follows initiation and reaches a peak after decision. Therefore, the term "mobilization of support" rather than persuasion seems to fit the Soviet case more accurately. Such mobilization is controlled by the Party apparatus and occurs generally after rather than before the decision phase.

In the Soviet Union the problem of persuasion is relatively simple for a top Soviet leader who wishes to inaugurate a new policy. He really need only persuade a small handful of men, in some cases, maybe only one man, the top leader. Once the key leaders of the Communist Party are persuaded that the policy should be adopted, they need only to crank up the Party apparatus and begin to mobilize public support. The President of the United States, on the other hand, must be very careful that he has a considerable amount of support for his policies before he attempts to carry them to Congress. On some issues the Soviet leaders may elect to include a far larger group in the discussion of the proposal than would ordinarily be the case. This was true of the educational reforms in 1958.

For some time there had been increasing criticism of the Soviet schools. Khrushchev proposed a series of changes in curriculum and other matters relating to the schools. The proposal was published in the newspapers and was discussed publicly. The debate over the education reforms lasted about six weeks. In the process a variety of groups representing lay and professional interests participated. When the measure was finally approved by the Supreme Soviet it differed in many respects from the initial proposal that was offered by Khrushchev, indicating that to some extent at least the persuasion phase of the decision-making operation had modified the original proposal. In this case the interest in public debate was apparently directed toward imporving the proposal by getting as much expert opinion as possible. At other times the purpose of public debate seems to be to permit factions within the leadership to try to gain the support of certain groups which would help them in their bid for power. In other cases special meetings of the Central Committee have been called to listen to and discuss proposals. This too may be considered a part of the persuasion phase.

The third phase of the decision process is the decision itself--either approval or veto. Every political system has a place in which these decisions are made. In the Soviet system the place where decisions are ultimately made is in the highest eschelons of the Party. This is, of course, the same group of leaders that initiates policy and makes possible its debate. When the proposal has been decided upon and all decisions and modifications in the original proposal have been made, it is submitted to the Supreme Soviet which, according to the Soviet Constitution, is the policy making body in the USSR. But this is merely the formal ratification stage of a policy which has already been agreed upon. By the time Supreme Soviet considers a proposal all the key decisions have been made; the Soviet deputies merely listen and approve unanimously. The real decisions were already made within the top leadership of the Party.

This conclusion does not mean that policy proposals in the Soviet Union do not require the approval of a number of people. It does mean that those people who must approve the policy are all part of the same apparatus. In the United States, a variety of groups have to approve a proposal before it can become effective. In the Soviet Union a policy proposal within any particular area of policy would presumably have to have the approval of (1) the top officials of the department of government primarily concerned with the topic; (2) the officials of the Central Committee department most directly concerned; (3) the Central Committee Secretary with primary responsibility for the area; (4) the Presidium member or members specializing in the area; (5) a majority of the Presidium and (6) the top leader, if there is one. Dependent upon the structure of power at the very top of the Soviet system, one or more of these six groups may be able to exercise a veto. By definition the top leader always can. So also could a majority of the Presidium, but if the Presidium voted against the top leader this would touch off a major political crisis.

One can do a similar listing for the American decision-making process. For a domestic policy proposal, once might include the following: (1) the top officials of the government agency primarily concerned; (2) the House committee specializing in the area; (3) the House Rules Committee; (4) the House; (5) the appropriate Senate committees; (6) the Senate; (7) the President, or if he vetoes it, a two-thirds majority of both Houses, and, finally, (8) the courts. It is clear that there is a difference between this list and the list provided by the Soviet Union. In the United States these groups are often competitive and may make it their purpose to subvert the other institutions. Each institution acts on the proposal in terms of its own point of view. In the Soviet Union, all of the groups acting upon the proposal represent one institution, the Communist Party. Multiple approval is more necessary for policies formulated in the American system than is true in the Soviet system.

The final stage in the decision process is the execution of the policy. Those who execute policy also have a hand in determining the policy as has been indicated before. In the United States the execution phase is separate from the decision phase. Once a law is passed in Congress, congressmen lose control over it; and it now passes to the province of the administration and the courts. Quite the opposite is true in the Soviet Union. The Party is responsible for initiating the policy, for mobilizing the support for it, for arriving at the decision, and also for executing the policy. It is up to the Party apparatus to see that the policy is carried out throughout the country.

Soviet decision-makers are not so frustrated at this stage as are American decision-makers. While all bureaucracies seem to possess a similar resistance to change, and while the Soviet bureaucracy is much larger than ours, Soviet leaders have far more control over how administrators will behave. Promotion comes to those who zealously do what is asked of them by the Party. Laziness and stubborn refusal to cooperate are not tolerated when discovered. In the United States civil service protection often prevents the government from firing incompetents. No such restrictions protect Soviet bureaucrats.

Neither do Soviet leaders need worry much about how their policy will fare with the courts. Soviet judges are also Communists, and they do not declare unconstitutional that which the Party has worked long and hard to make effective. Furthermore, since the decision-makers are also the executors and the interpreters, the law will be administered in keeping with their original plans. This conclusion reveals again the nature of a totalitarian state.

READING XLVI

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: A DECISION BY STALIN

Readings 44 and 45 emphasized that the Soviet decision-making takes place in the top eschelons of the Communist Party. While Americans disagree about how much personal control Khrushchev now has over the decision-making process, there is no doubt that he is the number one leader. Nevertheless, despite his immense power, Khrushchev does not have the degree of control once exercised by Josef Stalin. During Stalin's lifetime even other Party leaders were unable to exercise much control over decisions. Stalin was able to promote and demote leaders as he chose and to initiate any policy he desired.

All Russians danced to Stalin's tune. His word was law; no one dared to oppose him. Not only was his control unchallenged with regard to the internal affairs of the USSR, but Communist parties in other countries also did as he required.

Unfortunately case studies of how decisions are made in the USSR are unavailable to Western scholars. Rarely are we given an opportunity for an inside view of the Soviet system. The reading that follows provides just such a perspective. The author is Ignazio Silone, who helped found the Italian Communist Party in 1921, served as its underground leader in the 1920's, and left the Party in disgust in 1930. The reading demonstrates very well the way in which policy and the struggle for power under Stalin were often intertwined. It also illustrates the decision-making process in the Soviet Union.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Why do you think Stalin wished to have the Executive Committee of the Communist International condemn Trotsky?
2. What efforts were made to avoid argument and to achieve unity?
3. What did party loyalty mean in this case?
4. How was the decision finally made?

MAKING A DECISION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY *

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* From Andre Gide *et al.*, THE GOD THAT FAILED, (New York, Harper and Brothers: 1930), 94-99.

In this account Gide tells the story of his opposition to a resolution denouncing Trotsky on the basis of a document the exiled revolutionary had sent to the Soviets criticizing the Soviet Union's China policy. When Gide asked to read the document in question before voting for condemnation, he found himself the object of scorn and denunciation by the other delegates. For failing to follow the Soviet Union's lead in the matter, he and the entire Italian Communist Party came in for an investigation and strong denunciations.

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: THE POWER ELITE

In Readings 42 and 43, we learned that in many American communities there is a political elite. This elite has much to say about decision-making at the local level. More often than not it consists primarily of business and professional people, representatives of upper and upper middle social and economic classes. Our problem with regard to American decision-making was to learn to what degree members of certain classes make up a political ruling elite. In the Soviet Union our task is just the reverse. We know who make up the power elite. They are the top leaders of the Communist Party. Our job will be to learn whether this political elite also forms a social and economic class.

Interestingly enough, it was Karl Marx, the father of modern Communism, who first formulated a systematic theory of class differences. His ideas still have a profound influence on our entire conception of class structures. Marx believed that every productive system created a number of types of work; a man could be a farmer, make tools, merchandize goods, or own land. Within each group there were many people who played similar roles and shared common interests and values. They became a class. Therefore, it was possible to identify a peasant class, a slave class, a worker class, a landlord class, a capitalist class. The most powerful class at any one point in time was the one that owned the productive system. Its power permitted it to control society and to use the organs of government to keep the other classes under its control.

Marx called the nineteenth century English economic system capitalism, a system under which the means of production were owned and controlled by a merchant-industrialist class. Marx believed that this system would ultimately give way to a new system he called socialism, in which the workers would first rule in the interests of the rest. Finally when all former classes had been destroyed and a classless society had emerged, the state would begin to "wither away" and pure communism would exist with each man working at the task he did best and receiving whatever he needed.

No such society has yet emerged in the USSR. The state has not "withered away"; it grows ever stronger. People are paid not according to their needs, but according to what kind of work they perform and how well they do it, essentially a capitalistic idea. The result is that Communism as Marx envisioned it has not yet arrived in Russia.

What of Marx's idea of a classless society? Are there a variety of social classes in the USSR? Has the political elite become a social and economic class? One man who believes so is Milovan Djilas, once a friend of Marshal Broz Tito and Vice President of Communist Yugoslavia, and presently a political prisoner in Yugoslavia. In his book The New Class, this badly disillusioned Communist offers his views on the political elite in Communist countries.

The following questions should help you in your analysis of the reading:

1. What are the bases of social classes?
2. Why has Djilas used the term "class" to describe the elite in the USSR rather than another term such as group or party elite?
3. Is there mobility within and into the "new class"?
4. How does the "new class" differ from the old Bolshevik party according to Djilas?
5. Has the political elite in the USSR become a dominant social and economic class?

THE NEW CLASS*

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* From Milovan Djilas, THE NEW CLASS, (New York, Frederick Praeger: 1957) 37-69, passim.

In this selection Djilas argues that the old oligarchy of capitalists and nobles has been replaced in Soviet Russia by the core of the Party. The chief members of the Party, arising from working class backgrounds, have established their power and are now consolidating it as a new "ruling class." He argues that they now make all of the decisions once made by old elites, and more, for they have accumulated both political and economic power into their own hands.

UNIT IX : THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN

STATING THE ISSUE

"Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." This now famous sentence from President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address urges Americans to serve their country and their society. This is one role which citizens play in a democracy. By voting, working actively for candidates, offering themselves for election to public office, serving in the armed forces and accepting appointments to political jobs they serve their society by helping to make and carry out the laws of the land.

But despite President Kennedy's advice, government also exists to serve citizens. We have a right to ask what our country can do for us and to expect it to do a great deal. Our local governments provide police and fire protection, set up traffic regulations and support public education. State governments build recreation areas, encourage industrial development and maintain state highways. The federal government defends the nation against its enemies, sets up social insurance schemes and provides funds for slum clearance. These are only a few samples of the many functions of government in America. Other governments in other nations have provided different services for their people.

The individual citizen has played a great variety of roles in government. Among the Kwaluitl Indians he was expected to sacrifice his life for a crime committed by another citizen in order to prevent the outbreak of an intertribal war. In most ancient societies, he was expected to obey his monarch without question and without suggesting what ought to be done. The Greek and Roman republics expected him to participate actively in the process of passing legislation and to assume public office when his fellow citizens elected him. In the Soviet Union he is virtually required to vote but he is not encouraged to help formulate policy. In the United States, he may vote, he may run for office, he may abstain from political activity entirely and he may have a decided influence on the development of policy. These differences in the roles played by citizens help to reveal differences in the societies in which they live.

What is the role of the citizen in the United States and in the Soviet Union? How can he gain access to his political leaders? How can he gather information about politics upon which to base a reasoned judgment? What is the attitude of citizens to their government? These are the issues with which we will be concerned in Readings 48 through 63.

READING XLVIII

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: TIME

Among the things a person needs in order to participate actively in politics, none is more important than time. No other society is so controlled by clocks as our own. Most of us live on a demanding schedule. We set a time to get up, a time to go to school, a time for play, a time for study and a time to go to bed. Few minutes are left over. The fact that time is scarce has a profound impact upon the level of political activity in the modern world.

Some writers about politics have assumed that citizens are automatically interested in political life. Reformers who were trying to win universal manhood suffrage in Europe and America during the nineteenth century had this point of view. Many of them were disappointed. Once he had the vote, many a man failed to use it and others who did go to the polls knew little about either the issues or the candidates. Why has this unfortunate condition sometimes come about?

Each of us must face the fact that our time is limited. Rather than money or energy or ambition, our time may be our scarcest resource. Each of us is forced continually to choose the way in which we will spend our time. If we watch a ball game on TV for two hours, we cannot use those same two hours to keep up on the political news. In the long run, the way in which we spend our time is determined primarily by our system of values. Some early democratic writers assumed that political activity would rate a high position in everyone's value system and that citizens would therefore choose to spend time on politics rather than at some other activity. The purpose of this assignment is to test this hypothesis.

During the next two days you are to keep an accurate record of how you spend your time. At the end of each day, fill out the chart which we have supplied for you, listing various daily activities. Try not to do anything particularly different from your usual routine. At the end of the two days we will try to see how we spend our time and to study the relative importance of political activity in our lives.

As you do this assignment, think about the following questions:

1. Why do you spend your time as you do?
2. If you wanted to spend more time listening to political news or campaigning for a candidate, what activity would you drop? Why?
3. Do you think that the amount of time you spend on political activities is connected to the attitude of your parents to this matter?

TIME AS A SCARCE RESOURCE

List Part of an Hour as Follows:
15 min. = 1/4 hr.
30 min. = 2/4 hr.
45 min. = 3/4 hr.

ACTIVITY	FIRST DAY	SECOND DAY	TWO-DAY TOTAL
1. Athletics			
2. Clubs			
3. Eating			
4. Homework			
5. Household Chores			
6. Listening to Records			
7. Musical Participation			
8. Movies			
9. Newspaper & Magazine Rdg. (entertainment)			
10. Newspaper & Magazine Rdg. (News, political sections)			
11. Politics, incl. student government			
12. Radio (entertainment)			
13. Radio (news or political programs)			
14. Religious Services			
15. Talking to Friends			
16. Television (entertainment)			
17. Television (news or political programs)			
18. School			
19. Sleeping			
20.			
21.			
	Total 24 hrs.	Total 24 hrs.	Two-Day Total 48 hrs.

READING XLIX

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: INFORMATION

If citizens are to be enlightened participants in politics they must have access to and be willing to use accurate information about public issues.

What information about politics is available to American citizens? Do citizens take full advantage of the opportunities to learn about political affairs? These are two vital questions. In a democracy we assume that citizens will be able to learn about public issues and that they will want to gather what information they can about them. Yet some studies indicate that reliable evidence about politics is not readily available and that many citizens don't care to read about or listen to discussions of public affairs.

In 1961, Robert A. Dahl, a political scientist at Yale University, published a careful study of politics in New Haven, Connecticut. Among other questions, he investigated the availability to citizens of information about politics. He also studied the degree of interest they showed in this information. At the time of Dahl's work, New Haven's mayor was a Democrat named Richard C. Lee. A native of New Haven, Lee had attended public schools there and later had become a newspaper reporter on the Journal Courier, an officer of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the head of Yale's Public Relations Department. In 1953, at the age of thirty-seven, he was elected mayor.

He won the mayoralty election despite the stubborn and vigorous opposition of New Haven's two newspapers. Both were owned locally by a very old, conservative Republican named John Day Jackson. Throughout the campaign, Jackson supported Lee's opponent and he remained hostile to Lee and his policies in later years. Although he had a local monopoly of newspapers, Jackson was unable to persuade the voters to defeat Lee. This incident raises the fundamental question of the power of the press in political matters.

In Chapter 23 of his book, Dahl discusses the control of sources of information about politics in New Haven. He pointed out that about 90 per cent of the adults in the city read the Register, and that politically active people also read the Journal Courier. Yet reading these newspapers did not persuade enough people to vote for Lee's opponent to defeat him. In the passages below, Dahl analyzes the reasons for this development. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What sources of information about politics are available to New Haven citizens? Make a list of these sources in your notebook.

2. How effective are these sources in influencing public opinion? Are they equally effective on every political issue, or are they more effective on some types of issues than on others?

3. What conclusions did Dahl derive from his study of the attempt to get the New Haven charter revised? How much attention did the average citizen pay to political affairs?

4. In our society, does it seem likely that anyone can control political life by winning control of the sources of information? Does the apathy so evident in New Haven seem at all dangerous to you?

CONTROL OF SOURCES OF INFORMATION*

* From Robert A. Dahl, WHO GOVERNS: DEMOCRACY AND POWER IN AN AMERICAN CITY, (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press: 1961), 260-267 *passim*.

Dahl tries to answer the question, "Why can not the man who controls the only newspapers in town control the election of the mayor?" His answer is that the newspapers do not have a monopoly on information, that citizens gain their information of politics from TV, radio, out-of-town newspapers, and, most importantly, word of mouth. Secondly, Dahl suggests that voters generally turn deaf ears to the political information that is inundated upon them, and seek advice in voting on issues from personal contacts with politicians and other influential members of the community.

READING L

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: THE PROBLEM OF MANAGED NEWS

Americans must have information about politics if they are to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens. We learned in the previous reading that Americans often pay little attention to what they read, hear, and see. Another equally important problem is whether the information they get is accurate and complete. We hear much about the "controlled press" of the USSR. Recently, there has been increasing discussion about "managed news" in the United States.

In a society such as ours citizens cannot reach rational conclusions if they have only a portion of the evidence about a subject or if they have only a distorted version of the facts. We expect our reporters and news analysts to be relentless in their search for facts and to uncover every important story. However, newspapers cannot print detailed news about everything that happens; they do not have the space nor would their readers in most cases be interested in reading just anything. Newspapers are in a competitive business. Editors must organize their papers and write their stories in a way which will capture and hold the interest of readers. Many newspapers refuse to publish stories they consider objectionable. The New York Times, for example, proclaims in its masthead that it publishes, "All the news that's fit to print" and how to edit a story to capture reader-interest rests with the editors who, when they print one story and throw away another, manage the news.

This is not the issue, however, that has provoked the most controversy in recent years. The present debate related to the degree to which the government should manage the news.

In the past Americans have argued that all the affairs of government should be open to public scrutiny except during time of war. Since 1945, however, there has been a growing tendency for the administration to engage in activities concerning which even Congressmen have been unaware. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA) are two organizations whose activities are a mystery to most Americans. We saw this secrecy at work in reading 35, when President Kennedy surprised the Russians during the Cuban missile crisis. On the other hand, lack of secrecy may have helped to undermine the invasion of Cuba in April, 1961; at least it seemed so to President Kennedy.

Today's reading raises a number of fundamental issues about how much information American citizens should have about political affairs. It consists of a speech given by President Kennedy on April 27, 1961, shortly after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, to the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. In President Kennedy's view, what new conditions require greater discretion on the part of the press as to what to print?

2. What kind of information should be kept secret in his view? What kind should be available for public debate?

3. In your view does the government have the right to decide what can be printed?

4. The Soviet leaders also control their press "in the interest of national security." What is the difference between a controlled press and managed news?

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESS *

* From THE NEW YORK TIMES, April 28, 1961.

In this speech, the late President Kennedy addressed himself to finding some balance between the need of the public to be well informed and the need to maintain secrecy in the interests of national security. The President stated he was opposed to censorship and that he would not condone it in his administration, but he called upon the press to exercise discretion when printing the news. He asked that they always consider the national security before printing any story that might give away secrets to the enemies of the United States.

READING LI

POLITICAL INACTIVITY BY AMERICAN CITIZENS

We are often told that the "good citizen" should participate actively in politics. Yet nearly half the eligible voters fail to cast ballots in a typical election, and millions of other citizens do not become involved in politics except to vote. Why do so many Americans avoid the duties of good citizenship? What is responsible: apathy, fear, ignorance?

Professor Morris Rosenberg, a member of the staff of the National Institute of Mental Health, tried to find out. He conducted what he termed an "exploratory study" interviewing seventy citizens of Ithaca, New York. Since these respondents were not chosen in order to obtain a cross-sample of the community, Professor Rosenberg warned his readers that his results should not be taken as scientific fact. He was only attempting to develop some hypotheses which might explain political apathy and he did not think a scientific sample was necessary for this purpose.

In the study which Professor Rosenberg published in Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII, 4 (Winter, 1954-1955), 564-575, he listed the answers he had received to his questions under the hypotheses he had developed. They then served as evidence for his hypotheses. This was not the way in which he received them. The people he questioned gave answers at random, and Professor Rosenberg later arranged them in the pattern into which they seemed to fall.

We have mixed them up again for you in order to put you into the shoes of a research scholar. Suppose you had asked a number of people why they did not participate more actively in politics and they had given you the replies you will find below. How would you arrange them into groups that made some sense?

Suppose, for example, that you were able to find four replies that indicated the respondents did not participate in politics because they thought this an unladylike activity. (You won't find this reply here, of course.) Four such answers ought to suggest an hypothesis worth investigating further: that some women avoid politics because they think it unladylike. Your assignment is to develop hypotheses to explain political inactivity from the data we give you.

Your teacher will give you a dittoed copy of the following quotations. To make your task easier, we suggest that you cut the dittoed sheet of answers until there is only one answer in piles, each pile containing replies that indicate the same reason for political apathy. When you have finished use a paper clip to hold similar replies together. Then on a sheet of notebook paper write the hypotheses you have developed. Make each hypothesis no more than one sentence long. Be prepared to defend your hypotheses before the class tomorrow.

* From Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," in PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, XVIII, 4(Winter, 1954-1955) 560-575).

This selection consists of twenty-seven quotations made by citizens who were trying to explain why they did not vote. Several hypotheses can be drawn from the quotations, among them lack of time, lack of interest, a feeling that voting does not do much good, a reluctance to enter controversy because of reprisals that might follow, etc.

READING LII

WHAT TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY MOST ENGAGE AMERICAN CITIZENS?

In the preceding reading we studied the reasons that many Americans are not active politically. Yet, to divide Americans into only two groups--politically active and politically inactive--would be misleading, for there are many degrees of political activity. An American who votes regularly is participating in politics although his participation is much less than that of the professional politician. In Reading 52 we will study various types of political activity and the degree to which American citizens participate in each of these types.

In Reading 49 we read an excerpt from Robert Dahl's book Who Governs, an investigation of political behavior in New Haven, Connecticut. In another part of this study, Professor Dahl tried to determine what part his respondents actually took in political activity. As you will see, some of his information was taken from historical records, but most of it came from interviews conducted with a scientifically chosen sample of 525 respondents. From their answers to his questions, Professor Dahl constructed tables and figures illustrating various aspects of political activity. If we can assume that people in New Haven are pretty much like people elsewhere in the United States and that their political behavior is similar to that of other Americans, we can learn something from these charts about the political activity of typical American urban dwellers. At least Professor Dahl's work has given us some hypotheses to investigate.

Political scientists must learn to read figures and tables accurately. Tables, charts and graphs can provide particularly useful and accurate ways to present information. With them we can condense a large amount of information into a small amount of space. We can sometimes make information, such as the percentage of people voting for president as contrasted to those voting for mayor, much more vivid with a graph than it would be in words. All students of political science must learn to use these valuable tools well. You have already had some experience with them in this course.

The assignment for today has two purposes: (1) to study the degree to which American citizens are active participants in politics and, (2) to learn to make conclusions from evidence presented in the form of tables and figures. To make this latter task easier, we have prepared questions to accompany each table. Study them carefully as you look over the data presented in the tables. Then, when you have finished answering these specific questions, turn back to the four more general questions that follow on this page and try to answer them for yourself in preparation for class discussion. The questions are:

1. To what degree is the average citizen concerned with politics and with political activities? Support your generalizations with evidence from Table 1 and from Figures 2 and 3.

2. What relationships can you find between the degree of personal involvement a particular political activity requires and the percentage of citizens who become involved?

3. To what extent do most citizens use the sources of information about politics available to them?

4. How can you explain the degree of political inactivity revealed by these tables and figures?

* From Robert A. Dahl, WHO GOVERNS: DEMOCRACY AND POWER IN AN AMERICAN CITY (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press: 1961) 277-279.

This reading consists of four tables and charts each with its own set of study questions. Chart 1 compares the number of voters who vote in presidential and mayoralty elections. Table 1 categorizes the kind of political activity in which a citizen might engage and indicates what proportion of the voters takes part in each category. Figure 2 charts the number of activities in which voters participate. Table 2 categorizes the kinds of local activities in which citizens might engage and indicates what proportion of the citizenry take part in each type of activity.

FIGURE 1

1. In what year did the largest percentage of eligible voters cast their ballots in a presidential election?

2. During what years did the smallest percentage of eligible voters vote in a presidential election?

3. Did more people vote for president or for mayor?

4. In general, did most people take advantage of the right to vote? In national elections? In local elections?

5. According to the most recent figures given in Figure 1, was political activity increasing or declining in 1950?

6. Why is percentage of political activity figured in terms of population 21 years and over rather than in terms of general population statistics?

7. During the early decades of the 20th century there was a great rise in the number of immigrants entering the United States. Is this rise reflected in Figure 1?

TABLE I:

1. As political activity calls for greater personal involvement, is it more or less likely to attract participants?

2. Are more people likely (a) to attempt to convince others to vote a particular way or (b) to work actively for a particular candidate or party?

3. What factors (such as lack of time, money, interest)seem to be of major importance in keeping people from participating in political activity?

FIGURE 2: (Read carefully the explanation of terms with this figure)

1. What is the subject of this chart? What does this mean?

2. Of the 525 voters studied, how many vote and also engage in five or more additional political activities?

3. In how many political activities do the largest number of voters participate?

4. According to Figure 2, what percent of the group studied were non-voters?

5. How does this compare with non-voters indicated on Figure I?

6. How do you account for the seeming difference in these figures?

TABLE 2:

1. What percent of the registered voters studied in New Haven indicated an interest in politics to the extent of talking about political affairs to their friends?

2. What percent indicated an active connection with some local issue?

READING LIII

GETTING INTO POLITICS

There are many ways in which Americans can and do participate actively in politics. Letter writing, distributing petitions favoring a bond proposal, attending city council meetings, and joining a civic organization are just a few of the ways American citizens have some influence on their government without becoming active members of a political party.

But suppose you have decided to make a career of politics. How would you go about it? Where do you begin? Not as President, or Senator, or Governor or Mayor; not as an officeholder at all in most cases. How a person starts depends in part on what his ambitions in politics are. Some citizens become involved for the sheer thrill of it. Others become aroused about a particular issue in the public eye and plunge into politics to do something about it. Still others wish to become career politicians and climb the ladder of political success. But whatever one's ambitions, the professional politicians agree that you must begin at the bottom.

Most citizens who become interested in politics want to know how to be effective. Many of them realize that they will have to pay a price for political activity. They may spend much of their spare time ringing doorbells or licking envelopes. They may lose friends, as a result of their party affiliation, or they may make substantial financial contributions. Moreover, they must face realistically the possibility that their efforts may not always be successful. As we have seen, some people even hesitate to vote because they think that political activity is futile. It makes sense, then, to ask the professional politician how to be successful before you plunge into action.

The author of the article you are about to read, Hugh Scott, Jr., Senator from Pennsylvania, started his career, like many other politicians, as a lawyer. He served as assistant district attorney in Philadelphia for fifteen years. Working his way up through the ranks of the Republican Party, he finally became National Chairman during the 1948-1949 presidential campaign. He has seen politics and politicians from almost every rung on the political ladder and can speak to us as an insider.

In this particular reading, Senator Scott has little to say about some of the intangible rewards of political activity. They are many. Politics is an absorbing business. Men and women who work in campaigns can rub shoulders with the nation's leaders and make a number of firm friends among fellow workers enrolled in the same cause. A victory party after a successful election night is a real thrill. So is the quiet satisfaction of seeing a measure for which a person has worked pass the legislature and become the law of the land. All these are rewards that cannot be measured in money.

If you wish to reap these rewards, get to know how to be effective in politics. The following excerpts from Senator Scott's book, How To Go Into Politics, gives you advice about this important matter. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What is the basic structure of a political party?
2. How important is the day-to-day work of a political party? Why?
3. Suppose you wanted to get involved in political affairs. Would you have a better chance during an election or between elections? Why? How would the job you might do differ in these two periods?
4. What satisfaction could a person get from work at the ward level?

HOW TO GET INTO POLITICS*

The best way to begin in politics is at the beginning. So how does one go about it?

How you start depends a great deal on where you start. If you live in a small town or in the country, your beginnings will differ somewhat from an entry into city politics. And geography has a great deal to do with it, too. Entering politics in the South would be very different from entering politics in the Northeast. Also, starting in a community supporting two strong political parties will differ from activity in a community where a single party is in control or in a community where little attention is paid to party labels in local affairs.

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* From Hugh D. Scott, Jr., HOW TO GET INTO POLITICS (New York, John Day: 1949).

The Pennsylvania Senator advises that the first step in politics is to learn the basic organization of the party, and then start at one of the lower levels of the organization. Scott advises that a person who goes into politics should admit that he has personal interests for doing so, but that he should not seek a political career unless he has a genuine desire to work for others. Having worked in the ranks, those interested in furthering their career should pick out the kind of career they wish, and then work toward that end, actively courting support from the party and from the citizenry at large.

READING LIV

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY OF FAILURE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Only a small percentage of American citizens ever became involved in politics as a full-time occupation. Nevertheless, many citizens who make a living at another occupation give a portion of their time to political problems. Generally they are prompted to act because a problem touches them personally.

A citizen who is so moved is then faced with the question of how to gain access to the political system. The term gaining access does not mean to become a member of the government. It is a term used by political scientists to mean influencing the political structure. In more simple terms, the problem concerns the way in which an individual citizen can secure a respectful hearing from a public official, and, once having been heard, be assured that he will receive favorable action? If a citizen influences the government to act favorably on his request, he is said to have gained access to the political system.

It is generally easier for an individual citizen to gain access to his local government, than to the state and federal government. The citizen may know many of the local officials personally while the larger units of government seem impersonal in contrast. Furthermore, the issue troubling the individual citizen in his community may also concern others in the community and hence the leaders of the city government.

Readings 54 and 55 present two case studies of attempts to gain access. In the first, the Case of the Bothersome Bees, an indignant citizen tried and failed to gain access to her local government. In the second, the Beloit Bus Case, the city government was moved to act in response to a community problem.

We should be cautious in making generalizations from these two examples. The conclusions drawn from these two cases might not hold true for all other problems at the local level. Nevertheless, they do raise a number of interesting questions and provide some insight into the problem of what is necessary in order to gain access to local government.

As you read the Case of the Bothersome Bees, consider the following questions:

1. What steps did Mrs. Walker take to get action about the bees? What happened in each instance?

2. Why do you suppose the Walkers composed a letter and tried to get the signatures of neighbors before submitting it to the City Council?

3. Why didn't more people rally to Mrs. Walker's support? Why didn't she appeal to an interest group? What do your conclusions indicate about the types of issues which can rally enough support to get action?

4. Why did the city government fail to take action in the Case of the Bothersome Bees? Should it have taken action? By what criteria should the council decide when to act? Why?

THE CASE OF THE BOTHERSOME BEES*

* From Warner E. Mills, Jr. and Harry R. Davis, SMALL CITY GOVERNMENT: SEVEN CASES IN DECISION MAKING, (New York, Random House: 1962) 94-98.

This selection relates the case of a dispute between neighbors. A Mrs. Walker was upset with her neighbor's bee-keeping activity. She asked the city government to do something. The government sent out the sanitation inspector, who found that the bees did not cause great disturbance (except to Mrs. Walker) and that there was no law on the books prohibiting bee-keeping in the city. Mrs. Walker appealed next to the city manager, and obtaining no help, addressed a letter to the city council which asked that it take some action on the matter. Her letter was signed by four of her neighbors. The council did not act upon the matter in any way.

READING LV

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SUCCESS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

In Reading 54 we studied a case in which private citizens were unable to persuade the government of their town to act. Today we shall examine another case. This time private citizens were successful in gaining access to their government. The contrast in the two cases should open some interesting analytical questions useful in the analysis of similar cases in the future.

Until the end of World War II many Americans depended heavily on public transportation to get them in and out of towns, but since 1945 they have relied increasingly on their own automobiles. As a result, many bus and streetcar companies have fallen upon hard times, and some have become bankrupt. In May, 1959, the Beloit, Wisconsin, Bus Company announced that it faced bankruptcy and would suspend services. This announcement touched off a crisis in Beloit.

Buses had always been owned by a private company which had never received a subsidy from the government, but if they were to run again, some sort of government aid would almost certainly have to be provided. The town's businessmen who were most anxious to have bus service resumed realized that they would have to recommend some degree of public aid to a private company, a policy which they did not favor because they were such firm believers in a "free enterprise" system.

As we have learned, decisions in government often depend to a large degree on informal politicking outside the established institutions of government. The Beloit Bus Crisis is an excellent example of this generalization. Notice as you read the comparatively unimportant role played by the City Council in the entire incident and compare it to the influence and initiative of private citizens. These developments raise some interesting questions. The following specific ones may help you understand the issues a little more readily:

1. Why did the City Council adopt a "wait and see" attitude toward the bus crisis?
2. Who took the initiative to solve the bus crisis? Why? Whom did he seek as allies? What solutions to the crisis were proposed?
3. How did the Transportation Committee arrive at a decision about which policy to propose to council? Why did this policy seem undesirable to some people? Why did the Council eventually accept it?
4. Why were private citizens effective in solving the bus crisis when they had not been able to settle the Case of the Bothersome Bees?
5. What factors were present which were absent in the Case of the Bothersome Bees? To what extent was a power elite involved?
6. Which questions asked about both the "Case of the Bothersome Bees" and "The Beloit Bus Crisis" do you consider important questions to ask about all cases involving citizen attempts to get government to act?

THE BELOIT BUS CRISIS *

* From Warner E. Mills and Harry R. Davis, SMALL CITY GOVERNMENT: SEVEN CASES IN DECISION MAKING, (New York, Random House: 1962) 55-72 passim.

This case relates how people in the city of Beloit, Wisconsin took action to restore public transportation to the city when the privately owned bus company could no longer manage to provide service. The immediate reaction of the city council was to wait and see what would happen, since the council had no wish to go into the bus business itself. The owner of one of the city's department stores called a meeting of the important men in town. The meeting formed a group to study the problem. After study they suggested several alternatives and finally agreed upon one of them. They presented this alternative to the city council which then took positive action to implement it.

READING LVI

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

It is far more difficult for the individual to gain access to the state or the national government than to reach local officials. For this reason, many citizens try to influence officials on the national level through organized interest groups such as the AFL-CIO or the National Association of Manufacturers. Nevertheless, there are two avenues of access open to the individual by which he can make his voice heard. They are to help those get elected who support his point of view and to influence legislation by writing letters to congressmen and administrators.

Some people have questioned the importance of letters from constituents as a factor in influencing a Congressman's decision. In 1939 Professor L. E. Gleeck studied the factors determining the votes of American senators on the issue of the repeal of the arms embargo that forbade Americans to sell arms to warring nations abroad. He asked secretaries and newspapermen to list the factors that most influenced the votes of the senators they knew best, choosing from a list of eight influences Gleeck gave them. The results were as follows:

INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN THE VOTE OF 83 CONGRESSMEN
(According to the testimony of secretaries and newspaper correspondents)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Weighted Totals
Independent Judgment	38(380)	15(65)	3(9)	0(0)	454 (41.5%)
Party Considerations	29(290)	13(65)	2(6)	1(1)	362 (33.0%)
Constituents' Views	13(130)	14(70)	4(12)	0(0)	212 (19.5%)
Congressional Debates	1(10)	1(5)	3(9)	0(0)	24 (12.0%)
Peace Lobbyists	0(0)	1(5)	2(6)	0(0)	11 (1.0%)
Public Leaders	1(10)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	10 (1.0%)
Particular Newspaper	1(10)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	10 (1.0%)
War Dept. Influence	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	10 (1.0%)
	83	46	14	1	1093

This table indicates that the views of constituents, which might be expressed in letters, ranked third among these eight factors and counted for only about 20 per cent of the total. Only thirteen of the eighty-three senators represented in the poll rated their constituents' views as the most influential of the factors weighing upon them. Letter writing, in other words, was far from the most important factor influencing congressmen. But letters do count, particularly special kinds of letters written at strategic moments.

In the reading for today you will study both techniques for gaining individual access to government: affecting the election and influencing legislation by letter-writing. The first selection describes the actions of a group of doctors who were prompted to act in 1950 and analyzes the results of their action. The second selection raises a number of issues about writing letters to Congressmen. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What factor or factors influenced the doctors in 1950?
2. What action did they take? Was it successful?
3. Is letter-writing an effective way to make oneself heard? Why or why not?
4. What are the most effective type of letters to write?
5. Do you think a congressman should be primarily a representative or primarily a delegate? Why?

NEW POWER AT THE POLLS: THE DOCTORS *

* From R. Cragin Lewis, "New Power at the Polls: The Doctors," in MEDICAL ECONOMICS, XXVIII (January, 1951), 73-78.

This selection relates the various tactics doctors have employed to influence citizens to vote against men who are in favor of national health insurance. Their tactics range from dropping leaflets from the air to fund raising and writing their patients.

WRITING LETTERS TO A CONGRESSMAN *

* From Ellen Davis, "Don't Write Your Congressman, Unless..." in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, CCXXII (June, 1961) 12-21 passim.

This article presents the views of several congressmen on the mail they receive and how they handle it. The article contains advice on how and when to write one's congressmen. Congressmen advise that letters be restricted to one issue, that they present factual information and logical reasoning on issues, and that they be respectful. The article also assesses the role of mail in decision making. It points out that mail indicates what changes might be necessary to insure passage of controversial legislation, calls attention to bills that might not otherwise come to a congressman's attention, and occasionally may even spur the drafting of legislation.

READING LVII

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT THROUGH AN INTEREST GROUP

We have been examining the ways in which individual citizens gain access to their governments. Individual access is far easier to achieve at the local level than at state and national levels. When seeking access to the larger units of government, as a rule individual Americans ally themselves with other like-minded citizens to form an interest or pressure group, sometimes referred to as a lobby. When such a group is large, consists of influential members, and is able to win the support of other groups, it often presents a force that government officials cannot ignore.

There are two major forms of access to government. First, one can try to elect officials and secure the appointments of bureaucrats who are favorably inclined to one's ideas. Second, one can seek to influence those government officials presently in office. In Reading 17 we observed the way in which one interest group, the CIO-PAC, worked to gain and maintain support for those political leaders who favored pro-labor policies. In Reading 57 we will learn how interest groups gain access to government between elections.

Interest groups operate both directly and indirectly on the political process. They operate directly when they attempt to influence members of government who are in decision-making positions. They operate indirectly when they attempt to unify members of their own organizations behind a given policy, when they seek allies among other interest groups, and when they propagandize the public. Indirect action is designed to create public opinion to persuade government to respond in a predetermined way. Today's reading discusses all these techniques of interest groups. The following questions will help you with the reading:

1. Which of the lobbying techniques described below are direct and which are indirect?
2. Why do interest groups tend to have greater influence on the legislature and the administration than on the judicial branch?
3. Why do organized groups have more influence at state and national levels than individuals operating separately have?
4. What effect does the activity of organized pressure groups have on the democratic process as you understand it?

HOW PRESSURE GROUPS OPERATE *

* From Henry A. Turner, "How Pressure Groups Operate," in ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, (September, 1958) 64-72.

Turner's article concentrates on the changes that have taken place in lobbying practices in the twentieth century. The techniques of influencing legislators, agencies of the executive department, and even judges are explained. Turner points out that most government officials concede that lobbyists perform an important function in supplying information vital to decision-making. The article also discusses the new emphasis on mass communications media for influencing public opinion.

READING LVIII

A CASE STUDY IN GROUP ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

In the last reading you learned how interest groups try to gain access to government. In Reading 58 you will read a case study of how one interest group worked over a period of twelve years to get the legislation it wanted. This group is the National Association of Manufacturers. Its goal was to amend or abolish the Wagner Act passed in 1935. In the view of the NAM, the Wagner Act gave too much power to unions. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 accomplished the objectives of the NAM, by reducing union power. How it was able to achieve its goal is the subject for today's reading.

Before you begin to read, consider once again the problem of access. How do individuals and groups get access to the government? As you read, think about the following questions:

1. In what ways did the NAM seek access directly and in what ways indirectly?
2. What techniques were used to gain access to the executive, legislative and judicial branches, respectively?
3. What allies did the NAM secure?
4. Why was the NAM able to achieve what individuals operating separately probably could not have achieved?

BUSINESS PRESSURES AND LABOR POLICY *

The efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers to amend the Wagner Act are chronicled in this reading. Unable to keep the Wagner Act off the books, the NAM began to use a news service, radio, leaflets, magazines, ads and even a cartoon series to arouse public opinion against unfair union practices and abuse of union power. Representatives of the NAM began to talk to national and state legislators, succeeding in obtaining regulatory laws in many states. With an assist from the wave of strikes in 1946 and the election of a Republican Congress in that year, the NAM was finally able to obtain through lobbying tactics the passage of the Taft-Hartley law.

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* From Robert E. Lane, PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc.: 1957), 83-87.

READING LIX

A PROBLEM IN ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

This section of the course has been focused on the question of how an individual American citizen can take part in and have greater influence upon his government. We have learned that many Americans are politically inactive. We have considered ways in which citizens might become active in politics, and we have learned how they can gain access to the political system either as an individual or as a member of an interest group.

In part, the problem is one of motivation. If a citizen has no interest in his government or in matters of public policy, no amount of information or latent political talent will make him a participant. But there is another facet to the problem. Even an individual who wishes to participate is often stopped short because he does not know how to begin. For him, the problem is one of strategy. Suppose you were truly concerned about a problem which you wished your government to solve; what would you do?

To suggest an answer to this question is the core of your assignment for today. You will need to use all that you have learned thus far in this section on the role of the individual. Your reading consists of an account of a problem that faced certain citizens in a fictional state. Your instructions follow the reading.

BELL THE CATS *

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* From Thomas H. Eliot, William N. Chambers, and Robert H. Salisbury, AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: READINGS AND PROBLEMS FOR ANALYSIS (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co.: 1960), 146-150.

This reading is concerned with the efforts of a fictitious association in a fictitious state to secure a law for the belling of cats. Such a law is passed by both House and Senate but is vetoed by the governor. The House overrode the governor's veto, but with the 30-man Senate voting 19-10 for overriding the veto, the last Senaotr to vote leave "to go duck hunting," before his name is called.

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Naturally, the members of the Fuertes Association were very angry and disappointed over the outcome of the bill. Nevertheless they resolved to increase their efforts and to secure passage of the bill in the next legislature.

Suppose that the FuertesAssociation does not know what course of action it should take. The officers of the Association have called upon you, as an impartial expert in political science, and asked for your advice. It is April of an election year. All the members of the legislature as well as the governor are up for re-election in September.

Based on what you have learned in this course and the information you have before you in this case, prepare a report for the Fuertes Association in which you outline the steps they should take to secure passage of their bill. Your report should not be more than three hundred words long. Write it in ink or on a typewriter.

READING LX

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GOVERNMENT IN THE USSR

There are no exact parallels between parts of the political system of the United States in the system of the Soviet Union. Elections, for example, are held for somewhat different purposes in the two countries. The process of decision-making is not the same in one as in the other. Similarly the role which the individual plays in the two societies is difficult to compare.

The Soviet citizen stands in a different relationship to his government than American citizens do to theirs. The difference lies both in the degree and in the kind of involvement. In both societies government has immense power over individual citizens. In both societies the government can seize a person's property in the form of taxes and can take his life in payment for a capital crime. Both governments issue certificates at birth, licenses to marry, and certificates of death. From the beginning to the end of their lives, many of the activities of citizens in both the United States and the USSR are controlled by their respective governments.

There are, however, fundamental differences in the roles which citizens play in the two countries. Perhaps the most important of these is the American's privilege to stay out of politics completely if he wishes to do so. Americans bemoan the fact that many citizens do not participate more actively in their government, but they do not suggest that a proper remedy would be to force participation. Americans have the privilege of abstaining from politics if they wish to do so.

In the USSR, on the other hand, all citizens are expected to vote; and the non-voter must have an excellent reason for not voting. But beyond this, many other activities have political overtones in the USSR. Many of the things Americans do and many of the groups they join have no political implications whatsoever. This is not so in the USSR. If the activity or the group does not somehow advance the interests of the state, Soviet leaders see little value in it. The Communist Party is constantly looking for ways to gain political mileage out of activities we would consider wholly non-political.

It is not possible in one reading to indicate all the ways in which a Soviet citizen may encounter the government in his daily life. The reading that follows consists of selections that illustrate government influence only in three fields. You may be able to find many others by reading newspapers and magazines carefully. As you read consider the following questions:

1. In Khrushchev's view, what is the purpose of art? If an artist accepts money from the government to paint, what are his obligations?
2. Who took responsibility for inventing new dances in the USSR? Who invents new dances in the United States? Why did the Soviet government want to create new dances?
3. What reasons did the organizers of Autostop offer to the Soviet government to justify their group?
4. On the basis of these selections, what generalizations would you suggest which describe the Soviet citizen's relationship to his government?

KHRUSHCHEV ON MODERN ART. . .*

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* From a stenographic record of remarks made by Premier N. S. Khrushchev when he visited an exhibition of Soviet modern art. The remarks were printed in ENCOUNTER, April, 1963.

Khrushchev's remarks indicate his great displeasure with the experiments of Soviet artists. He indicates that the pictures "don't look like anything" and that they are not helping Russia build Communism. He concludes his remarks by saying, "Gentlemen, we are declaring war on you (the artists)."

SOVIET IS SEEKING A TWIST ANTIDOTE *

* From THE NEW YORK TIMES, April 5, 1964.

This article reports what the Soviets have been trying to do to eliminate the "twist" and other western dances from the Soviet Union. In addition to a propaganda campaign, the ministry of culture also had some officials design new dances that would appeal to the young as a substitute for the twist. They were quite unsuccessful, however, in attracting young people to the new dances.

HITCHHIKERS GET A LIFT IN SOVIET *

* From THE NEW YORK TIMES, April 12, 1964.

This article reports a new campaign to promote hitchhiking in the Soviet Union. Hitchhikers were to buy a book of tickets that would allow them to go 1200 miles. As truck drivers picked them up, the hitchhikers gave the driver coupons for the distance traveled. The driver would then turn these in for awards. The purpose of the plan, besides providing low-cost travel, was to make it possible for intellectuals and artists to get into the countryside.

READING LXI

WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE TO SOVIET CITIZENS?

In an earlier reading we indicated that American citizens must have access to complete and accurate information if they are to participate responsibly in politics. We also considered the dangers posed by "managed news" to our democratic process. Reading 61 explores similar issues in Soviet life. In the USSR we can see managed news at its worst.

All forms of mass communication are controlled by the Soviet government. Nothing can be printed if leaders think that it may threaten the existence of the state. Although American newspapers sometimes distort the news or fail to publish important items, Americans can at least obtain a variety of sources that are in competition with each other for public attention. This is extremely important for it permits citizens to secure information and interpretation from one source when it is not available from others. No such opportunity exists for Soviet citizens. They must depend on what the state permits them to see.

The reading that follows describes the function of the press in the USSR. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What is the role of the press in the USSR? What kind of information will not appear in the Soviet press?
2. Why does the regime permit some criticism?
3. What problems face a Soviet citizen who is trying to arrive at rational conclusions about issues of public policies?
4. What differences do you detect between the idea of "managed news" and a "controlled press"?

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS *

* From Leo Gruliow, "The Role of the Press," in PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, January-February, 1963, 36-40.

This article states that the press in the Soviet Union is a tool for the manipulation of the public mind. Gruliow states that the press, controlled as it is by a government agency, must be able to explain all facts within the accepted Soviet ideology. To illustrate this, Gruliow indicates what news was suppressed when the Soviets erected the Berlin Wall, when the Chinese invaded India, and when the Cuba Crisis of 1962 occurred.

READING LXII

GAINING ACCESS TO THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

An American may gain access to his political system in a number of ways. He may try to exert his own influence by personal contact or by writing a letter. He may join a political party or choose to work through a powerful pressure group. The chances for his ultimate success are somewhat greater if he can attract support from others. Therefore, most Americans tend to work through groups rather than individually, especially when they wish to influence the actions of our national government.

A Soviet citizen faces a number of serious obstacles when he attempts to gain access to his government. Although he also can choose to operate individually or as a member of a group, his situation will be different from that of an American citizen. He may try to join the Communist party, believing that the opportunities of access are greater there. Undoubtedly, this is true; but real influence is in the hands of the leaders. The rank-and-file party members are expected to conform to the party policy without criticism or complaint. A Soviet citizen who wishes to influence policy at a given time probably gets discouraged when he realizes that it will be years before he has risen to such a position in the party that his views are awarded special consideration. In addition, most citizens cannot become party members.

A Soviet citizen may choose to join an interest group. There are many groups in the USSR--unions, hitchhiking clubs, and music and dramatic clubs, just to mention a few. These groups do not function as pressure groups as their counterparts in the United States do. For example, labor unions exist primarily to further production goals, not to advance the interests of workers, if these interests run counter to the plans of the state. There are no labor strikes in the USSR. A group formed to oppose the interests of the Soviet leaders would very soon be in trouble with the police.

Finally, a Soviet citizen may seek access individually. For many Soviet citizens this takes the form of letters to the editors of local and national newspapers. Any Soviet citizen may write a letter to the editor of his newspaper criticizing almost anything from the local street car service to the inefficiency of a particular collective-farm manager. Many Soviet citizens apparently take advantage of this opportunity to express their views. Pravda, for example, gets over 25,000 letters a month from its readers.

Of course, not every letter that is received gets published; but many do. And every newspaper has a "Letters to the Editor" department where each letter is read and forwarded to the agency or persons concerned. Often answers to the letters or explanations are printed in the paper. Some newspapers even have a section in the "Letters to the Editor" column devoted to reporting on what action has been taken and what situations have been remedied. Therefore, it is clear that at least limited access to the government can be achieved in this way. Not only is letter-writing the most direct form of communication available to the average citizen but enough of the complaints contained in these letters have been investigated and remedied to keep the letters coming into the newspaper offices in great numbers. It is also clear that Soviet authorities frequently use the letters to focus public attention on a problem they hope to eradicate.

The following letters are typical examples of the kinds of letters printed in the Communist press. The first letter is from the June 11, 1959 Moscow youth newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravda.

The others are from East European Communist papers but are very similar to the types of letters in the Soviet press.

The following questions should help you in your examination of the letters.

1. What theme seems to appear over and over again in the letters? Do these letters differ from the types of letters one would expect to find in American newspapers?

2. Do the writers appear to be attacking the regime itself directly or indirectly? Why do you think the Communist leaders permit such letters to be printed?

3. To what extent do you believe access is accomplished by printing such letters?

From Komsomolskaya Pravda, June 11, 1959:

Dear Editors:

I have never written you about good or bad, nor have I written you making excuses for myself or with praise for the way landscaping is carried on. But, (I'm writing) not for the sake, as they say, of "trying my hand," but in order to express my opinion (and not only my own!) about what I've been reading and hearing since the rocket launchings.

So our scientists have launched a rocket to the moon. I'm not going to dispute the fact that it actually "landed on the moon." If it's on the moon, so it's on the moon. Of course it's an important event, and it stirred up a big fuss. But, let's have a look, as they say, at the other side of the coin, and ask this kind of question: What have these Sputniks and rockets given the simple mortal, including me. I, for example, on the eve of the rocket's launching was in debt for 300 rubles, and I'm still in debt 300 rubles, in spite of the successful launching.

Doesn't it seem to you that the craze for these Sputniks and the cosmos is untimely, or, more precisely, premature. What I mean to say by this is that we're still up to our necks in earthly matters: there isn't enough living space, nursery schools, goods are expensive. And that rocket, I don't doubt, eats up so much money that everybody would probably groan if they knew the cost of it.

Tell any worker: Now you look here, Ivan, if we don't launch this rocket your little Volodya would start going to a kindergarten, that a yard of cloth would cost not 4 rubles, but half that, that you could buy an electric iron in a store--and I'm certain that he'd say: "For God's sake, don't launch those rockets."

Rockets, rockets, rockets!--who needs them now! To hell with the moon for the time being, give me something better for the table. . . .

Those Sputniks and rockets leave me cold. It's too early for them. They're useless.

From a letter to the editor in Pruboj (North Bohemia), Nov. 20, 1962:

My daughter, who is twenty and well-educated, is a nurse. We live in Litomerice--in a provincial town of gardens, spring blossoms and quiet; a town of pensioners and apricots, good for the nerves. Or so one would think, if one did not know the real situation.

The hospital is a little distance out of town. . .and to get there one must use a road which, though it is lovely, runs along a park which is a haven for young toughs. . . . Three weeks ago, a colleague of my daughter's was held up by a man whp took her purse and 15 koruny, and tried to get more. Not hard for a guy to get away with that sort of thing: the road is sparsely lit, and the pedestrian is lucky not to get jumped from both sides at once. It's no wonder that the nurses on late night and early morning shifts don't like to go to work.

There is a solution, of course. The town could improve the lighting, which is no damn good, and the police could patrol the place more frequently, or the hospital shifts could be rescheduled so the nurses could come and go in day-light. There may be other possibilities, but as it is, we have had no choice but to form our own armed "brigade" to escort my daughter to and from the hospital. We get up with the birds, and, before going to our own work, accompany her to the hospital, and , in the evening, we meet her there. Armed with a rubber hose, I follow fifty paces or so behind her. If anyone should accost her in the darkness I would not hesitate to commit murder or do serious bodily harm to the assailant. My wife carries a bottle of vitriol. Grandma has an old razor. Grandfather is the only one excluded from these family duties; he is a born brawler, and might raze the whole place.

So we live on the lookout, like the partisans in the old days. In this quiet little town of pensioners and scented gardens, we are always on the go, to or from the hospital. Oh, well, I suppose the exercise is healthy. I know nothing's going to be done about the situation. One day maybe I'll have a medical checkup, and they'll find something wrong with me so I'll have to stay home for a few days and sleep late in the morning. That would suit me just fine! (East Europe, May, 1963, p. 55)

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From a letter to the Editor of the Polish youth newspaper, Nov. 10-11, 1962:

Thus far everything in our country has been considered more important than man--his right to a human dwelling and a place to rest. The camping houses on a Leba and the so-called Polish Balaton (well-known lake in Hungary and resort center--Ed.) are the mockery. A worker goes to the lake where he will sleep comfortably for two weeks, eat a little better than usual, sit in the sunshine and even dance a little. And what next? He will go back to his hole for a full 50 weeks. You can go mad when you have to live in a den from the day you've been born. Such a den is the cause of my mother's illness. . . . From this hole I had to look out at the world and its problems, at our great plans and magnificent achievements.

I do not want anything from you. If I should sign this letter, some good soul, or perhaps Wave Length 56 (a Polish radio program dealing with the population's everyday problems--Ed.) would help me get an apartment in order to put me on the right road. But what about my colleague whose father cannot walk any longer as a result of the dampness in the cellar where he lives with six other people in one room? What about them? They think the same as I do. Why don't the enterprises build decent living quarters instead of luxury camping sites by the sea. . . ? How long will the rich be the only important people in People's Poland? I'd like to know the answer to this. But I know that no one will give me an honest answer.
(East Europe, Feb., 1963, p. 43.)

From a letter to the Editor of Svet v Obrazech (Prague, Czechoslovakia), November 24, 1962.

The other day, I was advised by our local health center to have an X-ray examination. "It could be anything," said the doctor, "and I can't begin treatment until I have seen X-rays." I was given a chit (permit), and told to make an appointment at the District Institute of National Health. I called the Institute in one of Prague's biggest boroughs and made the request.

"Call back in a week or two," came the reply. "Our X-ray machine has burnt out, and it may be two or three months before we can get it repaired." Shocked and incredulous, I asked if this really meant that the Institute might be without X-ray facilities for as long as three months.

"The man who does the job of rewinding the coil is sick, so I guess we'll just have to wait."

Is it any wonder that I was angry? After all, this was Prague, and not some one-horse town. I pointed out that there must be more than one man in the capital who knows how to rewind an X-ray coil, and if there isn't, what guarantee is there that the sick repairman will be back on the job even within three months? (Maybe he needs an X-ray too, in which case the machine might be repaired sooner--or not at all.) My tirade was interrupted by the brusque retort that I should complain to the administration, and I would see that the answer would be the same.

Well, I didn't bother, as I was in no mood for further argument. But if there is a sensible answer, I'm sure it would be of interest to many others like me who feel that it should not take three months to repair the X-ray equipment for one of Prague's largest districts. A little peace of mind on the subject would be in the interest of the individual and in the interest of the nation's health which the Institute claims to protect. (East Europe, Feb., 1963, p. 48)

From a letter in the Hungarian Party organ Nepszabadsag (Budapest), May 31, 1962:

A few days ago, after work, I was going to visit my brother in Gyal village. I became very thirsty on the way and entered the "railway cafe." My clothes were decent and clean, and I was completely sober. Sitting down at a table, I waited to be served. Time passed, but no one came. I waved to the waitress unobtrusively, and she came, but only to inform me that she would not serve me because I was a gypsy. "Have you no other reason?" I asked. "No," she replied, "but I am acting on the instructions of the boss."

This hurt my feelings, and I went to the store manager to inquire about it. He said that once some gypsies had been there who drank and then started a brawl. Since then they had not served gypsies. I left the store, but the way I was treated has hurt me ever since. This is unfair to a person who is working honestly and is striving to shake off backwardness and find his place in society. In our country people must be judged by their work and behavior. It would be a good thing if they would regard things that way at the Gyal cafe too. I am an honest working man and treat everyone with due respect. I expect to be treated decently. (East Europe, Sept., 1962, p. 38)

READING LXIII

THE ATTITUDE OF SOVIET CITIZENS TOWARD THEIR GOVERNMENT

Americans do not hear precisely what Soviet citizens think about their own government. The best way to find out would be to ask the Soviet people. This is impossible. There are no public opinion pollsters similar to George Gallup or Elmo Roper in the USSR. American visitors to the Soviet Union who try to gain information on their own, are generally unsuccessful because Soviet citizens are unwilling to talk freely with Americans unless they know them very well. During Stalin's rule, it was dangerous for a Soviet citizen even to be seen talking to an American.

We can, of course, interview Soviet refugees who have fled to this country. Their testimony may be unreliable; it is obvious that they were dissatisfied or they would not have deserted Russia. Moreover, they are generally anxious to make themselves welcome by telling Americans what they think Americans wish to hear. Such testimony provides little basis for understanding the attitudes of the vast majority of Russians who do not leave the Soviet Union.

In summary, it is difficult to be certain what the Russians actually think about their government. One of the best sources of information comes from Americans who have spent some time living in Russia and have come to know a few Russians intimately. Today's reading was written by such an American. He provides us with a profile of a hypothetically typical Russian student in Moscow. From the example you may learn something about other Russian students and perhaps other Soviet citizens as well.

As you read, make a list of the characteristics and attitudes of the typical Russian student according to the author. When you have finished the reading and have made the list, imagine that you are Sasha and try to answer the following questions as you think he would.

1. It is obvious that in certain respects, Russian scientists have been more successful in conquering space than have American scientists. As a Russian, how would you account for this?
2. The Russians obviously suffered a defeat in Cuba in October, 1962. (See Reading XXXV) If you were Sasha, how would you explain this?
3. What are the dangers and strengths of forming generalizations on the bases of such fictional cases?

SASHA'S CREED: 'RUSSIA RIGHT OR WRONG' *

* From George Feifer, "Sasha's Creed: 'Russia Right or Wrong'" in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, April 28, 1963.

Feifer points out that the typical Russian student is unhappy with some of the policies of the Soviet regime, that he is curious about western ways, and that he recognizes that westerners enjoy a higher standard of living. Yet on what the typical Russian student considers the fundamental question, whether a society ought to be capitalistic or socialistic, he is in accord with his leaders. The Russian student, Feifer says, is committed to the ideals of public ownership of the means of production.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING MATERIAL

Each student enrolled in this course is required to do at least one hour of supplementary reading each week. Printed below is a list of articles from which the student may choose material to fulfill this reading requirement. Usually this obligation can be met by reading two or three of these articles. The time used to do this reading is to be determined by the student. It can be done at home, or in the social studies classroom on Fridays since formal Project Social Studies classes will meet only four days a week. On Fridays, students come to their classroom to read or study while the teacher meets with committees working on projects or gives individual help to students.

This is the first of three reading lists for the course. It contains selected articles about political leadership, which is the subject of Unit I. Unit I will be covered during approximately the first eight weeks of school.

Notice that the reading list on leadership is divided into three major parts:

A. Who are the political leaders? (Recruitment, training, personal characteristics)

B. How do political leaders gain and maintain support?

C. What are the "rules of the game" that political leaders are expected to follow?

The student is required to read at least one article from each of these sections (A, B and C) over the eight week period that this particular reading list is in use. The remainder of the student's reading during these weeks may be chosen from any of the listed articles depending upon the area or areas of the student's greatest interest.

We have supplied a key question with each article. The student is to write a one-paragraph answer to the question. This answer should be less than 100 words long and must be written (ink or typewriter) on the reading report form which the teacher will supply. A separate report form is to be used for each article. Space is provided at the bottom of the report form for a student evaluation of the article.

Every Monday students must turn in a report (or reports) on the reading done during the previous week. Occasionally a student may be working on a longer, more difficult article which takes more than one hour to read. In such a case the student must file a progress report on the regular report form.

All reading reports will be kept on file by the teacher as part of the permanent record of the student's participation in the course. These reports will not be returned to the students but they will count toward a course grade.

The books containing these articles will be found in the library on a special reserve set aside for students enrolled in Comparative Political Systems. They may be checked out overnight or during any regular study period during the day. If a student wishes to use a volume during the class period on Friday, when no class discussion will be held, he must check the volume out of the library. The use of these library reserve books will be governed by regular library rules and procedures.

The reading list for Unit I, Political Leadership, begins with a bibliography listing the volumes placed on reserve. Next comes a list of articles arranged alphabetically by author within each of the three major areas (recruitment, support, rules of the game). For each article we have provided a summary statement to indicate what the article is about and a study question to be answered by the student.

You may find some articles difficult to read and others which do not seem to be related to work we are doing in class. Will you please help the staff of Project Social Studies by indicating on your reading reports what you think of each article? We are revising this course as we teach it and are anxious to omit from our revision any articles which have not proved to be particularly useful. Thank you.

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Rogow, Arnold A., ed., GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A READER, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1961. 692 pp. $4.25 (paperbound).

Schwartz, Harry, THE RED PHOENIX: RUSSIA SINCE WORLD WAR II, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1961. 427 pp. $2.25 (paperbound).

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APPENDIX I
READING LIST: POLITICAL LEADERS

A. Who Are the Political Leaders?
(Recruitment, Training, Personal Characteristics)

Barghoorn, Frederick C. "Portrait of Joseph Stalin," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 165-168.
This selection is a portrait of Joseph Stalin, the former Russian dictator. Mr. Barghoorn vividly describes the characteristics that Stalin possessed and developed that enabled him to rule with absolute authority to a respectable age. These characteristicscertainly are not ones that we can admire, nor hope any of our political leaders will emulate in their desire to gain political support and office.

Question: What type of portrait of Stalin is painted by Barghoorn?

Bell, Jack, "Fire From the Right," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 186-190.
The President is often regarded, perhaps mistakenly, as the head of his political party. Floor leaders in Congress usually attempt to bring unity to the stand of their party's congressional members. Generally the President and the congressional floor leaders of his party act together on matters of mutual importance. This article, focusing on the Eisenhower Administration, shows what can happen when such cooperation is lacking.

Question: What is the author's judgment of the quality of Mr. Eisenhower's political leadership?

Brown, John Mason, "A Lesson in Coalitions," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 42-44.
This is an excellent examination of the personality traits that made General Eisenhower such a successful military commander. The author notes that these same traits enabled him to assume the Presidential office.

Question: How did Eisenhower's abilities as a wartime leader serve him as President?

Brownlow, Louis, "What We Expect The President To Do," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 221-224.
This essay investigates the expectations the American citizens have regarding their President. The author describes such public experiences as the "Presidential honeymoon" and the corresponding shock when it is over. The qualifications for presidential office seem quite exacting when viewed in the light of this essay.

Question: What three major things do American citizens expect of their President?

Bryce, James, "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen President," BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 297-301.
This article discusses the qualifications necessary for the office of President. The author concludes that men who would make good presidents are not well supported as candidates.

Question: What does the author mean when he says: 1) "In choosing a presidential candidate the safe man is preferred to the brilliant man," and 2) "The ordinary American voter does not object to mediocrity."?

Cuneo, Ernest, "The Little Flower Blooms," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 401-404.
This article describes the personality of and the tactics used by Mayor LaGuardia of New York City. When he wanted things done, he got them done.

Question: Why was LaGuardia able to get things done?

Desmond, Thomas C., "To Help Governers Govern," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 325-328.
In this article, the author presents a view of the present-day office of governor in the United States. Although the author wants to point up the shortcomings of the position of the chief executive of a state, he does an excellent job of describing the position of the governor.

Question: Among the many other duties of governor, the author says, is the one of chief tub-thumper. What does he mean?

Fortune, "New Strength in City Hall," CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 204-208.
According to Fortune Magazine, big city governments have become reasonably honest and efficient. This has come about because the electorate in city after city have elected hard-driving, skillful chief executives. These men were motivated to run for office by personal ambition and public spiritedness.

Question: What type of men make up the "new breed" of city executives?

Hymen, Sidney, "The Art of the Presidency," PROFILES OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 178-181.
The author of this article argues that presidents are either Buchanans, Lincolns, or Clevelands. To the author, each of these former presidents represents a certain type of executive--a type with its own special attributes. The author closes by showing which of these three types best fits the needs of our own day.

Question: Which of the three types do you feel would make the best president today?

Johnson, Gerald W., "Laughter Among the Trumpets," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 155-158.
"He saith among the trumpets, Ha, Ha,..." Using this quotation from the Book of Job, the author of this article describes what he considers to have been one of the most effective personality traits of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This trait, he claims, brought confidence to the people and gained the President popular support for his program.

Question: What was this magic trait of Roosevelt? How did it inspire confidence in the American people and gain their support?

Khrushchev, Nikita S., "The Crimes of the Stalin Era," GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A READER, pp. 96-110.
This is a copy of the famous speech made by Khrushchev before the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956. In this speech Khrushchev denounced Stalin as a tyrant, and to support his charge, he compared Stalin's leader-

ship with that of the first famous Bolshevik leader, Lenin.

Question: What striking differences did Khrushchev find between the leadership qualities of Lenin and Stalin?

__________, "The Secret Speech of Nikita Khrushchev," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 128-133.
This speech, condemning the glorification and deification of Stalin by Stalin, illustrates the fierce ideological and political struggle that took place in Russia after the death of Stalin in 1953. Even though Khrushchev condemned Stalin's claim to infallibility and self-glorification, one is puzzled by Khrushchev's obvious attempts to apologize for his dead leader's failings. He condemns him, but apologizes for him.

Question: What attributes does Khrushchev find in Stalin?

Laski, Harold J., "Crises Produce Great Presidents," BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 301-303.
This article discusses the method of selecting a president of the United States. The author seems to feel that there are built-in safeguards within the nomination and election process.

Question: What test of the American system of selecting presidents does the author consider decisive?

Lewis, Anthony, "The Case Against Electoral Reform," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 134-136.
The method of electing presidents in an electoral college has always been able to provoke debate. In 1956 an electoral college reform movement seemed well assured of success until a young Senator stepped up to lead the opposition. The speeches of this Senator, John F. Kennedy, displayed keen political insight.

Question: How did Senator Kennedy demonstrate his awareness of the present realities of political power?

Lyford, Joseph P., "The State Chairman," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 45-48.
Here is a brief biographical sketch of John Bailey, the present Democratic National Chairman. Written by a former political opponent, this sketch concentrates on Bailey's political activities as the Democratic Chairman (or party boss) of Connecticut.

Question: Which points in this article best describe Bailey as a professional politician?

MacLean, Fitzroy, "Tito of Yugoslavia," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 133-134.
The author, who fought with Tito's Partisans in World War II, reveals how Marshal Tito's national pride as a Jugoslav resisted Stalin's attempts to impose the Soviet party line on Yugoslavia. This resistance led in 1948 to the first major rift in the international Communist camp.

Question: What qualities of leadership did Tito exhibit to the author when a disagreement of policy arose among Tito's subordinates?

Martin, Ralph G. and Ed Plaut, "Photo Finish," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 75-91.
Describing the Democratic National Convention of 1956, this article carries with it all the special kind of excitement and suspense that can only be generated by a political convention. Any student reading this article should also read Earl Mazo's story "Ike and Dick" (pp. 67-74 of the same book) and contrast the different methods used by the two parties to select their vice presidential candidate.

Question: What were the different roles played by Kennedy and Nixon as possible vice presidential candidates?

Mazo, Earl, "Ike and Dick," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 67-74.
This article provides an inside look into the workings of a presidential nominating convention. The author describes the selection of the "winning ticket" of Eisenhower and Nixon by the Republicans in 1952.

Question: What method was used by Republicans to select a running mate for their presidential candidate Eisenhower?

Moscow, Warren, "Exit the Boss, Enter the Leader," CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 286-288.
The author points out that the political machines are being replaced by organizations, and the old fashioned boss is being replaced by the leader. The old boss controlled the vote, the new leader influences it.

Question: In what respects are today's organization leaders different from yesterday's machine bosses?

Rankin, Henry B., "Human Kindness," Canby, Courtlandt, ed., "Who is this Lincoln?", DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 13-20.
These are a series of intimate sketches that attempt to explain the many "faces" of Abraham Lincoln. The authors admit this is an impossibility: no one really knew or understood Lincoln because he opened himself to men in different directions. Despite the complexity of the man, these sketches do help us recognize the leadership traits he possessed, and the effect of those traits on people and events.

Question: Describe a number of character traits held by Lincoln that contributed to his political success.

Schmidhauser, John R., "The Justices of the Supreme Court: A Collective Portrait," GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A READER, pp. 352-374.
The backgrounds of all the justices of the Supreme Court are treated in this article. In spite of the fact that he is working with 80 separate men, the author has been able to portray clearly the political leader in the figure of the Supreme Court Justice.

Question: What is significant about the social and political backgrounds of these Supreme Court justices?

Schwartz, Harry, "Khrushchev: The Practical Marxist," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 26-29.
This reading describes Khrushchev as a dictator and as the model for Soviet society. The author also emphasizes Khrushchev's approach to the Marxist doctrine.

Question: Contrast Khrushchev's background and leadership with those of his two predecessors, Stalin and Lenin.

________, "The Problem of Succession," (in the USSR), THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 101-105.
In this article the author handles the question "What and who comes after Khrushchev?" The names of some possible successors are mentioned and their qualifications are evaluated. More important, however, is the general scheme of succession as seen by the author.

Question: Does there seem to be an established system for choosing a leader's successor in Communist Russia?

Shub, David, "Nicolai Lenin, Organizer of Revolution," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 121-123.
The author, a member of the first Russian Marxist party, describes the way in which Lenin used his powerful personal attraction to develop a small, tightly-knit revolutionary group. This group led the Revolutionary movement along paths dictated by Lenin's particular brand of Marxism. Adapting his Marxist philosophy to local conditions, Lenin was able to dominate the various Socialist groups and capture party leadership.

Question: What were some of the personal characteristics of Lenin?

Truman. Harry S., "President Truman and His Cabinet," POLITICS: U.S.A., pp. 350-354.
The correct relationships between a president and his cabinet have served as the subject of many debates. Former President Harry Truman makes a few comments on this topic in this article. In doing so he gives the reader an insight into Truman the President and political leader.

Question: What does Mr. Truman regard as the "correct" relationship between the President and his cabinet?

White, Theodore H., "I Was A Newspaperman Once, Myself," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 293-298.
News reporting on a presidential campaign trip is described here by White. The hectic, rigidly scheduled, often hastily rescheduled speaking stops and appearances certainly proved a grind to newsmen, and probably to the candidates too!

Question: Can you learn anything of the personalities of the candidates from this reporter's eye view?

White, William S., "Eisenhower Opens the Last Act," POLITICS: U.S.A., pp. 385-391.
Here is an appraisal of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President--a sketch of his assets and liabilities. The author rates the ex-President as "an incomparably good second man but hardly a top-rank first man."

Question: According to the writer, what were the strengths and weaknesses of Eisenhower as a political leader?

_____, "Who is Lyndon Johnson?" POLITICS: U.S.A., pp. 301-307.
This article analyzes Lyndon Johnson's role as majority leader (Democratic Party) in the United States Senate in 1958. White discusses Johnson's personality and describes the techniques of leadership he used. He also suggests reasons for Johnson's success.

Question: Why was Johnson an effective majority leader?

B. How Do Political Leaders Gain and Maintain Support?

Acheson, Dean, "A Democrat Looks At His Party," GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A READER, pp. 175-180.
In order to maintain political power in the United States, a man must have the support of his party. The party in turn must be supported by the people. What kind of party can insure popular support for its program and its candidates? In this article Dean Acheson claims his party has found the magic formula in its centuries-old tradition and its youthful outlook.

Question: According to the author, what two ideas give the Democratic Party its strength?

Baron, Samuel H., "Plekhanov, Father of Russian Marxism," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 116-120.
This is a detailed account of why Georgi Plekhanov, considered the Father of Russian Marxism, changed from a Russian Populist, believing that it would be the peasants of Russia who would successfully revolt against autocracy, to a follower of Karl Marx. It became clear to Plekhanov that the worker, rather than the peasant, would become the revolutionary force of the future.

Question: What particular Russian economic group did Plekhanov rely upon for support when he preached the doctrine of Marx? Why did he feel that all Marxist-propaganda should be directed toward this group?

Bell, Jack, "The Press Conference," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 280-287.
The role of the press in reporting presidential activities and administrative policies is historically outlined in this article. Many interesting sketches are given describing the relations that existed between the men of the fourth estate and various presidents.

Question: How did Franklin D. Roosevelt's use of the press indicate his knowledge of the ways that newspapers could win support for his measures?

Burns, James MacGregor, "The Donkey and the Stick," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 175-181.
Franklin D. Roosevelt considered himself the leader of his party. This article shows how he attempted to purge democratic opposition in the 1938 congressional elections by personally supporting certain candidates.

Question: To whom did Roosevelt appeal for support of his purge of the Democrats who opposed him?

Burns, James MacGregor, "The First Hurrah," POLITICS: U.S.A., pp. 171-175.
In the Democratic nominating convention of 1956, a wide open race developed for the position of vice president. In this short article the author describes the actions of one of the runners in this race--Senator John F. Kennedy. The opportunity was so unexpected that the young Senator failed in his bid. Lack of organization had cost him the nomination.

Question: Describe one incident in this article which points up the lack of coordinated organization in the Kennedy group.

Case, Senator Clifford, "A Republican Prescribes For His Party," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 117-122.
The relationship between the President of the United States and congressional members of his party is shown clearly in this article. Trying to rally the Republican congressmen behind Eisenhower, Case shows that the Party's policies can only be realized through united action.

Question: What example does Case give here of the Republican Party providing needed party support?

Cater, Douglas, "Atlanta, Smart Politics and Good Race Relations," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 405-414.
The principal figure in this story is the Mayor of Atlanta, William Hartsfield. His handling of the problems brought to the city by integration points up his awareness of the importance of behind-the-scenes support of his activities.

Question: What "behind the scenes" group is Hartsfield counting on to maintain peaceful race relations in Atlanta?

Colegrove, Albert M., "The Pattern of Latin American Dictatorship," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 53-56.
The Samoza family has held dictatorial control of Nicaragua for a quarter of a century. They have been able to maintain control mainly because of the support of the military forces, and, as many Nicaraguans believe, the backing of the United States. Discontent is mounting, however, and brief, but bloody rebellions have occurred in recent years.

Question: What groups are seeking to end the dictatorial power of the Samozas? Why?

Feldman, Justin N., "How Tammany Holds Power," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 280-282.
Why are political machines, like the Tammany Hall organization, allowed to continue despite the efforts of honest men to dislodge them? The author explains the devious and unethical maneuvering, used by the leaders of Tammany Hall that have perpetuated its control of the Democratic party on Manhattan Island.

Question: How does Tammany Hall provide support for its leaders?

Flynn, Edward J., "Personal Reflections On Bosses and Machines," POLITICS: USA, pp. 502-512.
"The independent voter. . .ought to be condemned as a shirker." Using statements like this, the author of this article describes his career as boss of the Democratic political machine of Bronx County, New York. He describes the use of patronage and the courting of special interest groups. He says that political bosses are necessary.

Question: How did Flynn remain Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Bronx County for 25 years?

Herring, Pendleton, "The Uses for National Conventions," BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 303-307.
In recent years there has been much criticism of our national nominating conventions and of their role in our political system. This selection analyzes some of the misinterpretations of the functions of conventions, and discusses the primary values of the convention system.

Question: What is the main function of the national convention? What are other purposes of the convention?

Hughes, Rupert, "Virginia Burgess," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 2-5. Here is a picture of George Washington you may never have seen. An irreconcilable enemy of the liquor interests, Washington never the less was too much the politician to allow opposition to drink to interfere with possible victory. By distributing liquor liberally, he was able to bring many voters to his side.

Question: How did Washington "use his friends" to gain support and win his election?

Ickes, Harold, "The President Loses a Battle, " POLITICS: USA, pp. 53-59. Franklin D. Roosevelt's move to appoint more justices to the Supreme Court in 1937 met with much opposition. In addition to cries from his political opponents and the Court, Roosevelt found opposition within his political party. The problems presented by this opposition, and the actions taken by Roosevelt to meet them, are enumerated here by his former Secretary of the Interior.

Question: What moves were taken, or suggested, by Roosevelt to insure party support of his program?

Johnson, Walter, "The Unwilling Candidate," POLITICS: USA, pp. 157-167. In 1952 the Democratic candidate for President was Adlai Stevenson. His selection seemed unusual at the time because he had continually declared himself unwilling to run. This article describes the planning and methods employed by his supporters, at the nominating convention, to insure his nomination.

Question: What appeared to be the winning coalition that secured the nomination of Stevenson at the Chocago convention?

Kennedy, Senator John F., "A Democrat Says His Party Must Lead. . . ," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 114-117. The role of the political party in providing responsible leadership is described in this speech of Senator John Kennedy in 1957.

Question: Why does Kennedy want the Democratic Party to state and define its principles?

Key, V.O., Jr., "The Nature of Southern Politics," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 116-121.
This article describes the workings of southern politics. The one party system is examined; the "comic-opera" politicians are explained and some interesting ideas describing the forces behind southern politics are described by the author.

Question: What is the most important factor in southern politics and how is this factor reflected in the organization of political power?

Khrushchev, Nikita S., "Terror Techniques," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 85-88.
When the Soviet government is unable to get desired results from persuasion and propaganda, the Party and government may resort to force. In a speech given before the Communist Party in 1956, Khrushchev condemns the terrorism under Stalin--mass arrests, "confessions" acquired by torture, deportation, exile, and so forth.

Question: What was the motive for Khrushchev's speech?

Lanius, Charles, "Communism Triumphs in Eastern Europe," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 149-156.
Since 1945, Communism has taken over several countries because, as the Germans retreated in eastern Europe during World War I, the advancing red army occupied the territory. The author of this selection gives a first-hand account of the methods used by the Communists in establishing control over Bulgaria in 1944.

Question: Describe the techniques used by the Communists to gain and maintain control of Bulgaria.

Lenin, V.I., "On Communist Party Organization," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 17-19.
Lenin had a duty--to make revolution. This essay briefly describes his plans for forming a secret party of professional revolutionaries to evade the police and lead the workers to revolt.

Question: How did Lenin expect to gain support for his party and the revolution?

Life Magazine, "What Really Happened Before the TV Debate?", DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 96-100.
Here is an interesting sketch of the type of campaign tactics employed before and after the appearance of TV. Note how the traditional role of aloofness of candidates was changed by the "whistle stop" campaign of William Jennings Bryan, in 1896. The future importance of TV in politics is demonstrated by a Life Magazine spread of the four TV debates that took place between Kennedy and Nixon in 1960. Our future leaders are going to be greatly influenced and affected by TV.

Question: How did these TV debates enhance Kennedy's image as a political leader of the United States?

Lockhard, Sir R.B., "The Revolutions of 1917," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 106-111.
Here is an eyewitness account of how Russia's repeated losses in the War of 1904-05, and World War I, coupled with the inefficiency and stupidity of the Tsar, led to the overthrow of his government in 1917. The author describes how the Bolsheviks were able to seize power from the Provisional Government of Kerensky, and make themselves masters of Russia.

Question: How were the Bolsheviks able to overthrow the Provincial Government?

Mencken, H.L., "The Nomination of FDR," GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A READER, pp. 269-276.
The Democratic Nominating Convention in 1932 picked for its presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt. The author thinks FDR was the weakest candidate of the convention. Using this theme, his article describes the convention scene and shows how Roosevelt's nomination was secured.

Question: If Roosevelt was the weakest candidate at the convention, how did he win the nomination?

Miller, William Lee, "Can Government Be 'Merchandised'?", POLITICS: USA, pp. 219-225.
The author illustrates the techniques used by public-relations men in politics. If you want to interest the voters "you put on a fight and if you can't fight, put on a show!" Mr. Miller raises a number of interesting questions about the proper role of public-relations experts in politics.

Question: What are the arguments against using public-relations devices to influence public opinion in a political campaign?

Muse, Benjamin, "The Durability of Harry Flood Byrd," POLITICS: USA, pp. 493-502.
Here is a description of the Democratic Party machine that runs Virginia and of its boss, Senator Harry Byrd. The role of a party leader and the birth and operation of a party machine are briefly sketched in this article.

Question: Could the Virginia Democratic machine function without the leadership of Harry Byrd?

Newsweek, July 25, 1960, "Cheers, 806 and OK," DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 94-96.
A caucus can be simply defined as a closed meeting of political leaders called for the purpose of developing political strategy or shaping political decisions. As this article shows, the Democratic National Convention of 1960 had a number of these "parlor powwows." Some of the most important were those connected with the selection of a suitable vice presidential candidate.

Question: How did the caucus machinery work in selecting Lyndon Johnson as Kennedy's running mate?

New York Times and Current Digest of the Soviet Press, "Persuasion Techniques", COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 82-85.
This article provides examples of propaganda used to glorify Stalin in preparation for the Soviet leader's seventieth birthday. The reading also contains a description of the sort of letters received by the "Pravda Mailbox" (comparable to our "Letters to the Editor").

Question: What is the difference between the "Pravda Mailbox" technique and the other methods of propaganda described here?

Pitchell, Robert J., "Professional Campaign Management--the California Experience", CAPITAL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 296-304.
This article outlines the growth in California during the last twenty years of professional political public relations firms. These firms operate as publicity arms for political candidates, or take complete charge of the candidates campaign, setting policy as well as executing it. The record of these firms in victories won is impressive but the author emphasizes that"the personalities and issues involved still are the basic issues that win or lose an election."

Question: How do political leaders use public relations firms to gain political support in California?

Redding, Jack, "Presidential Whistle-Stop," POLITICS: USA, pp. 175-180.
The conduct of a successful campaign can mean a great deal to a political candidate. This article describes the whistle-stop tour of Harry Truman in 1948. It shows the cooperation necessary between candidate and campaign organizers to meet expected and unexpected difficulties.

Question: To what degree can the success of this campaign be attributed to the work of the campaign organizers?

Scammon, R. M., "Uncontested Elections", COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 79-81.
In 1958, 134 million Soviet voters marched to the polls to cast their vote. But why bother? Since there is but one political party there is no opposition. In this selection the author presents the rationale for elections in the Soviet Union.

Question: What are the reasons given in the article for conducting elections in the USSR?

Schwartz, Harry, "The Downgrading of Stalin," THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 68-71.
This article describes how the "collective leadership" of Communist Russia in 1954, under Malenkov and his associates, attempted to use the figure of Joseph Stalin to win support for their policies.

Question: In what three ways did the Malenkov group stand to gain by the downgrading of Stalin?

_______, "The Reaction to Stalin's Death," THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 52-55.
The plea for unity and order heard in Russia after Stalin's death was not directed only to the mass of Russian people. The author of this article points out that there were important parts of the Russian governing and ruling machine that had to be pacified by these pleas.

Question: What special groups had to be satisfied in order to provide for a peaceful succession to Stalin's chair?

_______, "The Reorganization of Party and State Leadership," (after the death of Stalin) THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 55-57.
Within a few days of Stalin's death in 1953 a new form of leadership seemed to appear in Communist Russia. This article describes this form, its particular features, and the men who were involved in it.

Question: How were special groups pacified to win their support for the new Communist government under Malenkov?

_______, "The Stalinist Heritage," RED PHOENIX, pp. 33-37.
Stalinism as a unique form of Russian totalitarianism is discussed in this article. Here Stalin's methods of maintaining support through control are compared with those of Khrushchev. Remember, as you read this, that the author is discussing a totalitarian state.

Question: What differences are apparent in the methods of control formerly utilized by Stalin and those employed by the present Soviet leaders?

_______, "The Supremacy of Khrushchev," (pp. 73-76); "The Downfall of Beria," (pp. 63-65); both in THE RED PHOENIX.
In these two readings the author describes the success of one man and the failure of another in seeking to succeed Stalin as Communist leader in Russia. In both these cases we can see the importance of gaining personal support to stay in power.

Question: What personal supporter protected Malenkov from from Beria? What men seemed to have gained prestige in Russia by assisting Khrushchev in seizing power?

_______, "What Makes Khrushchev Tick?" THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 273-276.
Many people view the Russian Communist leader Nikita Khrushchev as a man of unlimited power; one who can act any way he wishes without fear of opposition or reprisal. Many times Khrushchev's actions seem to justify this, as he often says one thing and then appears to contradict it with some entirely different action.
In 1959 a notable example of this was shown by Khrushchev's snub of the British Prime Minister. In this article the author analyzes Khrushchev's moves and shows how the Communist leader's inconsistent actions are often motivated by the need to pacify some pressure groups that either provide support for, or could provide disasterous to, his maintenance of power.

Question: What possible influence could the policy of Communist China have on these actions of Khrushchev?

Spivak, Robert G., "Bourbons, Bosses and Brokers," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 121-123.
Spivak in this essay realistically describes the 1960 Democratic Party. He shows how the Party's public image differs from reality. In doing this, Spivak describes the methods of congressional party control exercised by Mr. Democrat--Senator Lyndon Johnson.

Question: How does Johnson maintain party control? What does Spivak's title imply about the Democratic Party?

Stalin, Joseph, "The Superiority of the Soviet State," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 62-64.
"The Russian Constitution is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world." So spoke Joseph Stalin, the former Premier of the Soviet Union, in a speech he made in 1936. In this speech Stalin states his reasons for his belief that the Soviet Constitution of 1936 is superior to all others. Stalin also expresses the standard Communist criticism of Western democracies.

Question: How does Stalin justify the existence of only one party--the Communist Party--in the USSR?

Stevenson, Adlai E., "The Ordeal of a Presidential Campaign," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 125-128.
In this article Adlai Stevenson describes the aims and purposes of his campaign for the presidency in 1952. Mr. Stevenson feels that in the communication between would-be leaders and potential supporters there is a great deal of danger. These campaigning leaders, says Mr. Stevenson, have a great responsibility.

Question: What is this responsibility that candidates have?

Truman and MacArthur--A Series of Four Readings in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 197-210.
These readings describe the chain of events that led President Truman to dismiss General Douglas MacArthur from his command in Korea. Truman regarded the General's actions as dangerous to the overall policy of his administration.

Question: What words did President Truman use to indicate that the administration's leadership was threatened by MacArthur's actions?

Turn, William, "In Defense of Patronage," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 319-322.
The author feels that political appointees are superior in ability, dedication and originality to civil service employees. He bases his argument on the fact that political parties today cannot afford to appoint incompetent, dishonest people to public office or they will be turned out of office by an aroused electorate.

Question: Why does this author prefer patronage to civil service examinations as a way of choosing government employees?

United States Department of State--Inter-American Series 66, "Castro's Cuba", THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 139-143.
This analysis of the Communist Revolution in Cuba before 1961 shows that Castro has used Communist ideas and organization to gain power and keep that power. The State Department specialists who prepared this article point out that Castro favors the more aggressive brand of Chinese Communism to spread his influence in Latin America, but he is dependent on Soviet economic aid to sustain his country.

Question: How did Castro use his land reform program after the overthrow of Batista to keep help him gain the support of the peasants?

Velie, Lester, "The Secret Boss of California," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 108-118.
Here is an intriguing analysis of how one man, Arthur Samish, who holds no elective or appointive position, controls the Legislature of California. By becoming the wealthiest and most influential lobbyist in the state, Mr. Samish has built an organization that elects and controls politicians, who in turn obey his every command. Once a target of Grand Jury investigation and charged with attempted bribery, Mr. Samish easily proved his innocence.

Question: How did Samish gain such vast political powers?

Widmayer, Ruth, excerpt from a Soviet Reader, and Humphrey, Hubert H., "Education," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 104-111.
Where does the Russian obtain his image of America? One of the most influential sources is the educational system. In this reading there are several examples of political indoctrination taken from Soviet textbooks which give Russian students an out-dated and distorted image of the United States.

Question: From what you know of the Soviet educational system, what objectives, set forth by the Party or government, are being promoted?

Wint, Guy, "Communism Triumphs in China," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 156-164.
The Chinese Nationalist Government (Kuomintang) had the odds in its favor; large armies, supplies, taxing power, control of the railroads and ports, and strategic position. The author's account describes the success of Chinese Communists over Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 despite these unfavorable odds.

Question: What were the reasons for the ultimate success of the Chinese Reds?

C. What are the "rules of the game" which affect political leadership?

Bailey, Stephen K., "Leadership in Local Government," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 344-348.
The author takes a thoughtful look at the course our local governments are following, and the direction they ought to take. Leaders, he states, should not be concerned with routine "housekeeping" functions, but should determine and achieve meaningful goals of social policy in terms of a better life for a city's citizens.

Question: What principles does the author feel should motivate future city leaders?

Bromage, Arthur W., "The Councilman as a Political Broker," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 196-199.
The author, an alderman of Ann Arbor, Michigan, cites various services he has performed that have benefited his constituents and his community. A council-manager government would eliminate the need for alderman, but under the existing mayor-council government, his activities and office are justified.

Question: Mr. Bromage claims that being a "broker" is one of the roles of the game for being a good councilman. What is the difference between brokerage and patronage?

Brownlow, "What We Expect the President to Do," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 221-224.
If this essay is true, we expect a great deal from our President. In outlining these expectations the author shows a personal inclination for a particular type of executive.

Question: When the author speaks of the President as a manager of the machinery of government, does he do so within the confines of the constitutionally drawn lines of executive power?

Caruthers, Osgood, "Tito Defines Stalin," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 172-176.
In 1948 Tito, the Yogoslav Communist leader, withdrew his country from the Communist bloc and severed the "strings" attached to Moscow. "Titoism" remains today as a problem for both the Communists and the West.

Question: What were the reasons for the split between Tito and the USSR?

Deutscher, Isaac, "Joseph Stalin: Socialism in One Country," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 124-128.
The author, by exposing the ideological differences between Trotsky and Stalin after Lenin's death, leads us on to the political antagonism that developed. Mr. Deutscher feels that Stalin won this struggle for power because his doctrine was more popular than Trotsky's.

Question: How does ideology, as one of the rules of the game, affect political leadership in the Soviet Union?

Finer, Herman, "The Solitary President," BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 308-313.
The President is singularly responsible (constitutionally and ethically), for the actions of his executive department. Describing this responsibility and its historical development, this article points out the burdensome weight such an obligation becomes in the modern world. (For comparison student should read Hazlitt's "Irresponsible Government," pp. 313-318, same book.)

Question: What does the author mean when he says, "This element of solitary. . .responsibility is the plague-spot of the American Constitution."?

Grullow, Leo, "Politics and the Soviet Press," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 225-227.
In this selection, the author traces the role of news censorship from the days of Lenin and Stalin to the present. The rigid, harsh censorship of the past has given way to a more relaxed, benevolent censorship today, but censorship still exists. The press can roam farther afield and print facts that can be awkward to the government, as long as the facts can be explained and excused within the ideological frameword.

Question: Why does the totalitarian government of Russia allow its newspapers to print news that could be critical of some phase of Soviet life?

Hazlitt, Henry, "Irresponsible Government," BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 313-318.
This article appears to have been written in anger. Published in 1942, it appeared after the American disaster of Pearl Harbor. Within its sentences our Constitution and the type of governmental leadership it brings to the United States are branded as irresponsible.

Question: According to the author, what advantages does the cabinet form of government have over our presidential goverrment?

Khrushchev, Nikita, "The Crimes of the Stalin Era," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 64-68.
In this copy of a Khrushchev speech, the speaker is seen attacking the figure of the former Russian Communist boss Joseph Stalin. In a very dramatic manner, Khrushchev accuses Stalin of breaking the rules of party leadership.

Question: What "Rules of the Game" did Stalin violate?

Lewis, Anthony, "The Case Against Electoral Reform," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 134-136.
In this article the author describes the controversy generated by the proposed reform of the electoral college system-- the constitutionally provided method of selecting the President of the United States. In portraying this debate, the author provides insight into the implications of such a change in the rules of the game.

Question: If the electoral college reform bill, calling for the abolition of the unit-rule vote, had been passed in 1956, would it have affected the outcome of the presidential election in 1960?

Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 2-11.
In this article, the father of Communism, Karl Marx, presents his criticism of capitalism and predicts reforms that will take place under communism.

Question: Using Marx's views, compare the role of the political leaders in a capitalistic society with that of the leaders in a Communist society?

Mazo, Earl, "The $18,000 Question," POLITICS: USA, pp. 255-258.
In this article the author brings to life the very personal experience of Mr. Richard Nixon's television appeal to the nation in 1952. This appeal had been brought about by the disclosure of his privately financed campaign fund of $18,000.

Question: Why did the disclosure of this campaign fund suddenly make Nixon a political drawback to the Republicans in the presidential campaign of 1952?

Neuberger, Richard L., "I Go to the Legislature," CAPITOL COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 96-101.
In this article, Mr. Neuberger gives his reasons for becoming a legislator. He believes that local and state governments are good training grounds for future national leaders. He supports His position with case studies.

Question: Why does Mr. Neuberger defend the art of compromise in politics?

________, "Who Should Pay For Political Campaigns?" PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 128-132.
For years people have complained about the potential danger in large private campaign contributions. In this article the author proposes to eliminate this possible danger by having the government support political campaigns.

Question: What are the rules of the game, according to this author, regarding the use of campaign funds?

Neustadt, Richard E., "The Presidency At Mid-Century," POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 225-229.
The presidency at mid-century, as described in this article, is a highly complex institution. The author shows how this institution is separated from the President himself and yet dependent upon the President.

Question: The author claims that the position of the presidency is the source of all major initiative in government. Yet he then states that the President's power is fragmentary. What does the author mean by these statements?

Patman, Wright, "Letter From A Congressman To A Constituent, " POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 182-184.
"Unbelievable but true" is the phrase that best describes this personal letter. Its frank language describes the implications and expectations of the patronage system.

Questions: In what way did Marshall, Bud and Kenneth Simmons apparently violate the "rules of the game" in their relationship with their congressman?

Polyakov, Vladimir, "The Story of A Story," THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 221-225.
A clever short story, written to exemplify the absurdity of censorship in the field of creative writing. The author demonstrates that true creativity cannot exist without freedom.

Question: Why did the editor cut so much out of Krapivina's story?

Schwartz, Harry, "Khrushchev and America View Each Other," THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 281-284.
This article describes the early part of Khrushchev's visit to America in 1959. Apparently this man wanted to "sell" Americans on his image of a peaceful figure. The author indicates that Khrushchev failed to achieve this sale.

Question: What violation of basic social norms helped mar Khrushchev's image as a benevolent peacemaker?

________, "Khrushchev At The United Nations," THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 293-296.
Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United Nations in 1960 is analyzed in this article. As the author states, a major purpose of this visit by the Communist leader was to use the United Nations forum as a platform for propaganda. Apparently, however, the publicity generated by Khrushchev's actions was not completely favorable.

Question: In what two ways did Khrushchev violate the rules of the game by his actions at the United Nations?

Truman, Harry S., "A Defense of Presidential Powers," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 181-185.
In this article former President Harry Truman gives his interpretation of the office of the President of the United States. Correctly identifying the origin of presidential power within the Constitution, Mr. Truman comments quite strongly on the interpretation of the constitutional relationship between the executive and legislative branches.

Question: What does Mr. Truman mean when he says, "The President who didn't have a fight with the Congress wasn't any good anyhow."?

TEACHER'S GUIDE

FOR

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

COMPILED BY THE

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTER
PROJECT SOCIAL STUDIES

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

AND

THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

TEACHER'S MANUAL: COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

A Note to the Public Domain Edition

The Teacher's Manual which follows accompanies the materials designed for a course in Comparative Political Systems developed at Carnegie Tech"s Social Studies Curriculum Development Center under a grant from the United States Office of Education. The Manual contains a statement of the objectives and philosophy of the entire series of courses for able students in grades nine through twelve, daily lesson plans, scripts of tapes, masters for transparencies, essay and objective examinations, and copies of class handouts. All of this material is in the public domain and may be duplicated and used by anyone for any purpose although it may not be copyrighted.

Like the student materials which it accompanies, the teaching strategies and learning aids in the Manual have a number of shortcomings. We were trying to give teachers maximum aid by indicating in detail one way to use each reading in the course. Like the student materials, the lesson plans were written in 1963 and revised in 1964, but since the revisions of our materials were so extensive, about two-thirds of the lesson plans were really new for the second version of the course. Moreover, we did not work out a satisfactory way to write lesson plans until the summer of 1964 when work on this volume had been completed. Although the course taught well with the materials and teaching strategies we are releasing, we found the following major shortcomings in our work.

As the "Introduction to the Teachers' Manuals" explains, the course has four sets of objectives: attitudes and values, skills and abilities, the ability to use the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences, and knowledge of selected facts and generalizations. We failed to develop a way of stating affective objectives (attitudes and values) in daily lesson plans and did not think about stating them for units until our experiment had progressed further. Hence, although the development of attitudes and values is implicit in much of the teaching strategy, it does not come clear in the Manual.

Moreover, we failed to distinguish in stating our daily objectives between general skills and abilities common to all intellectual endeavor and their specific application in the social science disciplines. The need to make this distinction emerged slowly as our project developed and has only become thoroughly clear in recent months.

The two groups of objectives we did state specifically also exhibit shortcomings. First, we were unable to specify all the facts and generalizations which we expected our students to learn, so we were forced to be content to itemize what seemed to us the most important generalizations. Second, we stated appropriate skills and abilities by referring to condensed version of the classification scheme in Bloom's TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: HANDBOOK I: THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN without translating these statements into the materials of the course. Finally, we failed to specify the behaviors which students who had mastered these skills and abilities would exhibit. We are trying to correct these deficiencies in the courses for the sophomore, junior and senior years of the sequence.

The form of the lesson plan as well as the style of questions asked leaves much to be desired. Many of the questions elicit yes or no answers or encourage the student to recall facts or generalizations from the reading. Not enough of them encourage reflective thinking or demand synthesis of evidence. Moreover, presenting an answer to a question as we have done encourages teachers to look for a correct response rather than open lines of investigation. We have found the form of lesson plan and the style of questions developed for the tenth grade courses in our series much more satisfactory than the ones which follow in this manual.

We also failed to employ a sufficient range of strategies in our early work. Most class periods are devoted to Socratic discussion, a style of teaching which we endorse, but not to the virtual exclusion of other styles. In later courses, we make more extensive use of small groups, employ non-directed discussion techniques more frequently, and use expository techniques more effectively.

The examinations also seem poor by standards met by later courses in the sequence. Too many of the objective tests demand only recall of facts and generalizations. Very few test the higher order cognitive abilities. Almost none of them get at the affective domain. Finally, some of the items are too easy and others either ambiguous or too difficult.

Despite all these deficiencies, teachers who have used the Manual found it very helpful. Many of the lesson plans need only to be put into a slightly different form in order to meet our present standards. Virtually all of them contain ideas which have stimulated teachers to try new approaches as they developed their individual teaching strategies. The staff of the Center will appreciate comments from colleagues who use this Manual. We hope that teachers, authors, and publishers will all benefit from examining it.

A HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM FOR ABLE STUDENTS

Carnegie Institute of Technology

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEACHER'S MANUALS

Background

During the past six years, Carnegie Institute of Technology has undertaken a number of ventures for the development of curriculum and teaching strategies for high school students. Almost fifty Carnegie Tech faculty members have been involved. They have worked in six subject areas: the social studies, English, the natural sciences, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and the fine arts. Each project has been a cooperative effort, sponsored jointly by Carnegie Tech and public schools in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The organization of the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Tech typifies these joint ventures.

The Social Studies Curriculum Development Center was founded in May, 1963, by a grant of $250,000 from the Cooperative Research Branch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW has since made two supplementary grants. The first ($22,500) brought twelve teacher-scholars from secondary schools and colleges to the Tech campus for six weeks during the summer of 1964 to help develop materials for use in tenth grade courses and to study techniques for curriculum development. The second ($90,000) came in September, 1965, to finance the development of a full audio-visual component to the project courses.

Under the terms of these three grants, the Curriculum Development Center has agreed to develop and test an entirely new curriculum for able students in grades nine through twelve. From its inception, the Project has been a joint endeavor of Carnegie Tech and the Pittsburgh Public Schools. Two co-directors, one from Tech and one from the Schools, have equal authority for planning and carrying out the project. Teams of writers and teachers from the two institutions develop materials, try them out in the schools, revise them, and give them a second trial. They also develop teaching strategies and instruments to evaluate the success of their work. The Project will be completed in October, 1967.

By able students we mean the top twenty or twenty-five percent of a typical high school graduating class. American schools have long neglected the special needs of this particular group of students. Our materials and teaching strategies have been designed specifically to fill this gap. But preliminary trials of our courses with average students in the Pittsburgh Schools have convinced us that both the materials and teaching strategies are adaptable to this much larger group by lowering the reading level appropriately. Hence, we believe that the ways of phrasing objectives, the types of materials, the range of teaching strategies, and the sorts of evaluating instruments we have employed may be useful as models to all social studies teachers. At the same time, we acknowledge that the particular products of our present endeavor are designed specifically for the top quarter of American students.

Objectives

The staff of the Center has established four groups of objectives for the entire sequence of four courses. Two of these groups of objectives we share with all other teachers in the schools: with instructors in English, science, mathematics, the arts and so forth. The remaining two groups are specific to social studies teachers. Let us first explore the general objectives.

1. **The development of cognitive skills essential to critical thinking**

Every teacher in all subjects in the schools should strive to develop the cognitive skills of his students. These skills have been carefully analyzed and ranged in their order of difficulty in the well-known TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN, edited by Benjamin Bloom and others. 1/ The major categories include the ability to comprehend, to apply, to analyze, to synthesize, and to evaluate. Bloom's TAXONOMY also contains sample evaluating instruments by which teachers can determine whether or not their students have mastered each skill.

We have developed materials and teaching strategies designed to assist the student to master these skills. We do not, however, claim for the social studies the sole responsibility for teaching them. On the contrary, we believe that every teacher in all subjects has an equal responsibility to teach for these objectives. As for our contribution to these general objectives, we have specified for emphasis in each daily lesson plan one or more of the skills drawn from the Bloom TAXONOMY. We have also developed a number of objective test items as well as some essay questions specifically designed to determine how well students are progressing towards the mastery of cognitive skills.

Although Bloom has arranged cognitive skills in the order of their complexity, we have found it difficult for students to master the easiest before the more complex ones are introduced. We have, however, been able to establish a rough progression from simple to complex over a three-year period. In our ninth grade work we concentrate on teaching the two simplest skills, comprehension and application. In the tenth grade we concentrate on the middle range, analysis and synthesis, and in the eleventh grade we focus our attention on the most difficult of all, evaluation. Our twelfth grade course reviews the entire range of skills and calls upon students to use them in different contexts.

2. **The development of affective objectives**

The second group of objectives which social studies teachers share with instructors in other disciplines lie in the affective domain. Stating these objectives succinctly and in a way acceptable to all parties in secondary education has long been one of the most troublesome aspects of curriculum development. Part of the difficulty lies in the assumption that only social studies teachers were responsible for what is generally called "citizenship training" or "civic education." In these terms most authorities include the development of a set of attitudes toward individuals and groups, a way of arriving at decisions through a rational decision-making process, a personal value system in accordance with a democratic credo, and a body of information about society and government which can serve as the basis for a rational decision-making process in personal and civic affairs. Only one of these - knowledge of content about government and society - is exclusively the province of social studies teachers. The other three - attitudes, decision-making, and values - should be shared by all teachers in the schools.

Within the affective domain fall the whole cluster of attitudes and values which are such an integral part of the process of developing good citizens. They have been carefully analyzed and arranged in ascending order of complexity in the TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE AFFECTIVE DOMAIN, edited by Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia. 2/ Like the TAXONOMY devoted to the cognitive domain, this volume lists affective objectives and gives examples of types of questions designed to determine whether or not they have been reached by work in the classroom.

The lower ranges of the affective objectives, receiving and responding, must be taught primarily by the way in which a class is conducted. Hence, teachers must utilize a variety of teaching techniques and ways of grouping students in order to reach them. The higher order of affective objectives involving the development of a value system and of an integrated personal philosophy ot life comes from both the way a class is conducted and from the content which students read and discuss in class.

We have not attempted to select a particular value system or a particular philosophy to teach to our students. In a pluralistic society, each student should have an opportunity to develop a system of values and a personal philosophy suited to his own conception of American life. To contribute to opportunities to develop such values and philosophies, we consistently raise a number of questions designed to induce students to reflect upon their developing value systems. By the end of his senior year, each student who has worked through the material conscientiously should be able to describe his own value system and his personal philosophy in a coherent and disciplined fashion and to consider intelligently the role of values in both public and private decision making. 3/ He would not, however, be expected to share the values or the philosophy of the staff of the Curriculum Center which has designed the sequence of courses.

We have attempted to teach the full range of affective objectives contained in the Krathwohl TAXONOMY in the four years of courses designed by the Center. Both the ways in which class is conducted and the content chosen for examination have been determined partly by strategies we have devised to reach these goals. A number of objective and essay examination questions test student attainment of affective objectives. It has not been practical to concentrate first on the mastery of the lower order of objectives to the exclusion of the higher ones.

Instead, both the behavioral attitudes and the development of a coherent personal philosophy receive emphasis year after year.

3. Using the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences

Unlike attaining skills and affective objectives, which are the responsibility of all teachers in all subjects in the schools, the use of the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences lies exclusively within the province of the social studies teacher. Other teachers have parallel responsibilities: the scientist to teach scientific method, the English teacher to teach techniques for analyzing literature, the mathematician to teach the deductive processes on which mathematics is founded. Although all scientific disciplines approach knowledge with similar assumptions and techniques, the method of the social sciences has peculiarities which make it distinctive.4/ Students can master it only with repeated practice.

We draw a sharp distinction between knowledge of the method of history and the social sciences and the ability to use that method. Knowledge of the method implies only the ability to repeat from memory the steps in a method of inquiry or to recognize the method when it is described. On the other hand, use of the method of inquiry implies the ability to isolate a problem, to carry on a scholarly investigation, and to write the result with no help whatsoever from teachers or fellow students. In other words, students can use the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences only when they are able to make a completely independent and free investigation.

We stress the use of the mode of inquiry because it forms an essential part of training for continued work in history and the social sciences and for intelligent participation in American society. In his personal life, his work, and his role as a citizen a student graduated from school or college is required to make up his mind about innumerable issues. Most of his decisions require the use of a disciplined decision-making process such as that which lies at the heart of the method of history and social sciences.

In traditional high school curricula, social science method is taught - if at all - implicitly. Students read articles or books and hear lectures which employ social science methodology, but they are not exposed consciously to materials designed specifically to teach the steps of social science method. Hence, they learn them imperfectly and are frequently unable to use them as tools for independent thinking.

To overcome this handicap we have designed a number of lessons in each of our courses for the specific purpose of teaching one or more aspects of historical or social scientific inquiry. For example, the first six lessons of the tenth grade course in the Shaping of Western Society explore the ways in which historians interpret the past. A number of other lessons in each course have similar objectives. In addition, learning one or more aspects of method forms a subsidiary objective of a large number of lessons whose primary objective may be mastery of content, development of a cognitive skill, or an affective goal. We test mastery of the mode of inquiry of the historian by assigning independent research papers which require students to make investigations without help from their teachers.

As part of the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences, we help students to learn the structure of these disciplines. 5/ In recent literature the word "structure" has been used with a variety of meanings. Some scholars, for example, suggest that a structure is a collection of generalizations. Two typical generalizations might be: "People migrate when they are hungry," and "Modern revolutions are led by educated people." For these workers the structure of a discipline is the entire set of generalizations which can be derived from the discipline through empirical investigation.

Other researchers identify the structure of a discipline with a collection of its major concepts. By a concept they mean a category, that is, a range of different events or things which are treated similarly. For example, different uprisings can be placed together in a category called revolution. By this meaning the idea of a concept is primarily definitional in character. Learning the structure of the discipline, then, is learning its major concepts.

Rather than a group of generalizations or a group of concepts, we define the structure of history and the social sciences as a battery of analytical questions which can be used to order factual evidence. Defining structure as analytical questions, rather than as generalizations, is not a mere quibble. Generalizations have about them a tone of finality because they are stated in declarative sentences that vote cloture on debate. Analytical questions, however, are the tools of inquiry. Unlike statements, analytical questions suggest the possibility of relationships among facts and generalizations; they do not insist that a relationship is always present. For us teaching the structure of history and the social sciences involves two processes: the first consists of helping students to learn and use a number of analytical questions which have proved useful to historians and social scientists in the past; the second consists of helping students to learn how to generate analytical questions for themselves.

Defining structure as analytical questions implies that there is no single correct structure. Moreover, throughout his life a scholar's conception of structure will change. As he learns more, he will ask new analytical questions suggested to him by the research of others. He will also improve his own ability to let an unexplained fact generate a new analytical question, giving him fresh insights into his data. In this sense the structure of the discipline is an integral part of its mode of inquiry. The excellent historian can be distinguished from the hack in part by the quality and quantity of analytical questions which he puts to his data.

Throughout the four years of the curriculum we have endeavored to help students learn a number of analytical questions drawn from the social science disciplines and to develop skills in asking their own analytical questions. Although there are thousands of questions appropriate to investigation in social science research, we have tried to organize each course around a few key analytical constructs. The course in Comparative Economic Systems, for instance, revolves around four major issues: what goods and services should be produced?, how should goods and services be produced?, for whom should goods and services be produced?, and what relationship exists between a society's value system and the way in which it answers the previous three questions? Only in the broadest and most general sense do these four questions define the structure of economics. They indicate the major issues involved in the essential economic problem, the problem of scarcity, but they are only the sketchiest guide to an attempt to understand the problem. Each large analytical question, such as these, implies a series of sub-questions, each of which helps to organize data. Yet beginning to study with a small list of major analytical categories in mind proves most helpful to students. It is these major analytical categories, the sub-questions they imply, and the ability to ask one's own questions which we define as the structure of history and the social sciences.

As part of the mode of inquiry, analytical questions prove most useful in the process of developing hypotheses. The facts never speak for themselves. They are ordered by each student in accordance with his own frame of reference. A host of fruitful analytical questions increases the bounds of that frame of reference and multiplies many fold the likelihood of a fruitful hypothesis. We increase our store of useful knowledge in both our personal and professional lives by developing and validating new hypotheses. Hence the study of the structure of history and the social sciences should form a vital part of the education of every young American.

4. Knowledge of selected facts and generalizations from history and the social sciences.

Like the ability to use the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences, knowledge of the content of these disciplines is an exclusive obligation of social studies teachers. The staff of the Curriculum Development Center has tried to face squarely the difficult problem of establishing criteria for the selection of content. In some ways what we teach has been determined by our other three objectives: knowledge of cognitive skills, affective objectives, and the ability to use the mode of inquiry. But we could reach those goals using facts and generalizations from any past society. Hence we were forced to establish three additional criteria for the selection of content. 6/

Our first supplementary criterion is the interest of the child. Over and over again in one course after another, we have tried to tie our selection of content to issues which are of vital concern to intelligent adolescents growing up in American society. One such concern, for example, is the way in which young people allocate their own time among a number of competing demands. By asking them to keep a careful record of the way in which their time is spent for several days and then to reckon the cost, in terms of giving up some of these activities, to devote a few hours each week to politics, we bring the issue of political activity within the context of a child's average day. We also try to raise a number of ethical and moral problems, each in its own social setting, which press upon modern young people. In so doing we are striving for affective goals - the development of a coherent value system and a personal philosophy - using as our starting point the kinds of issues about value and philosophy which trouble young people today.

We also let some of the problems of contemporary society guide the selection of content. We choose to study economic growth in Great Britain partly because economic growth is such a vital matter in the entire underdeveloped world. We look at the impact of modern technology upon traditional cultures for a similar reason. All over the world today cultures are in rapid transition because Western ideas and Western technology are transforming them. If students are to understand their modern world they should have an opportunity to study its major problems, and to look at the way other societies have met similar problems in the past.

Finally, we have chosen some content areas to assure knowledge of a small corpus of knowledge about society which any educated American living in the mid-twentieth century should have. Our curriculum has been designed for able students, most of whom will go to college. In the society in which they live and will live in the future, intelligent people share a pool of information. They all have read, or should have read, Pericles' Funeral Oration. They all know the meaning of the term "Machiavellian." They are acquainted with the works of Shakespeare and Petrarch and Bismarck. Whenever possible, we have selected readings which touch upon the lives or works of outstanding men from all over the world in order to help our students build up the corpus of knowledge common to intelligent people everywhere.

Teaching Strategies

Objectives imply teaching strategies. Scholars have accumulated plenty of evidence to indicate that students at the end of a course know just as many facts and generalizations if they have attended lectures and read textbooks as they do if they have participated in small discussion groups. 7/ If the major objective is to teach quantities of facts and generalizations, then expository teaching to large groups seems to be the most efficient method. On the other hand, if we wish to determine whether or not students can use the mode of inquiry independently of their teacher, we must launch them on a historical investigation entirely on their own.

Because our objectives are diverse, we have been unable to employ any single teaching strategy to the exclusion of others. Instead we have used a whole range of strategies from "pure" exposition to "pure" discovery methods. A number of readings scattered throughout all four years of the curriculum are narrative and expository in form. They tell students about the structure of American governmental institutions and contrast them with Russian governmental forms. They summarize a century or two of European history as succinctly as possible. Similarly, many slide tapes have been designed to convey a maximum quantity of information through both sight and sound. Expository techniques, since they are efficient and sparing of time, seem by any standard the best way to provide students with factual information which they must master.

Expository techniques, however, are not suitable to many of our objectives. For example, a number of our affective objectives require discussion techniques to be used in the classroom. A teacher cannot know when every student in a large lecture class is listening attentively or responding willingly to what the lecturer is saying. A discussion class provides far greater opportunities for a teacher to assess these affective goals. Similarly, a teacher can assess the ability with which students use the cognitive skills which Bloom has classified through gauging their contributions to discussion classes. In a discussion class students can be called upon to analyze or synthesize or extrapolate using material which they may not have seen before.

But if we are to give each individual student a chance to utilize the skills and abilities which he has been learning, we must give him opportunity for individual work. Hence we frequently ask students during discussion classes to pause for four or five minutes to write an hypothesis or draw together--synthesize--a conclusion from scattered evidence. In the eleventh grade course we consistently ask students to come to class prepared to ask four or five analytical questions drawn from the ninth and tenth grade courses which are useful in the analysis of fresh material. Independent research papers also call for each student to work on his own. Only when he can work independently is a student a free investigator. Only free investigation will yield independent judgment. Teaching strategies must build this independence. 8/

Materials

Both objectives and teaching strategies imply a variety of materials. We have provided materials ot a very wide range from expository articles and slide tapes on one end to discovery exercises which present only data from which students can build hypotheses on the other. This range of materials is important not only to accomplish specific objectives but also to break the deadly monotony of teaching technique which characterizes so many social studies classrooms.

Most of the courses in our sequence are built entirely from individual readings, each of which begins with an introduction and several study questions. In only one course - the eleventh grade Advanced Placement American History course - do we utilize a conventional text. Even here we have chosen the shortest excellent college text which we could find in order to encourage students to develop their own skill in interpreting the past. Each reading, however, has been chosen with great care to be certain that it contributes to an overall understanding of the subject with which it is concerned.

The types of material in each book of readings vary widely. As we have already indicated, a few readings are simple expositions designed for efficient learning of information indispensable to other aspects of the course. Other readings may contain a biography of a person typical of a particular period or development, a group of charts or tables containing statistical information from which generalizations can be drawn, an analytical article written by a historian or social scientist, or any of a number of other sorts of materials. This great variety interests students intrinsically and provides them with essential opportunities to learn how to handle the enormous range of materials which they will be reading for the rest of their lives.

We frequently supplement reading done as homework in preparation for class discussion with two additional sorts of materials: class handouts and audio-visual aids. By a class handout we mean a mimeographed page or two of information used to focus class discussion. Occasionally this information consists of a discovery exercise. For example, we have printed eight quotations from writers who lived in the United States in the 1830's from which students are asked to make hypotheses about the nature of Jacksonian democracy. We have also mimeographed ten tables about the American economy during the 1920's from which students are asked to develop an interpretation of the cause of the depression. Both of these sets of materials and many others like them build upon homework assignments done in the readings book and contribute to the development of skills and abilities as well as to objectives in the affective domain by the way in which they are handled in class.

A complete kit of audio-visual equipment supplements this written material. In each course we have a number of tapes, slide tapes, single concept filmstrips, and transparencies for the overhead projector. In each case we have tried to use an audio-visual aid only when a particular point can be made better with sight or sound or a combination of the two than it can with the printed word. Like class handouts, and like a variety of printed teaching materials, audio-visual aids break the monotony of typical classroom procedure. They can also present some types of data far more efficiently and with greater intellectual impact than they can be presented in any other way.

The Cumulative Sequence

The four-year sequence of courses had been planned so that the student will be required to employ the skills and knowledge acquired in one course in succeeding years. Each course has been designed to build upon the previous ones, developing the intellectual skills and using the structure of the discipline for further investigations. The overall effect of four years of study is the cumulative development of a more and more sophisticated frame of reference, drawing upon an ever-increasing store of experience.

The content for the four years has been carefully chosen to obtain this cumulative effect. The first course in the sequence, designed for the ninth grade, is called Comparative Political Systems. It compares a primitive government of American Plains Indians with the contemporary governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. In each instance we examine the nature of leadership, decision-making, the role of the individual citizen and the ideological foundation of the political structure. The course in Comparative Economic Systems, designed for the second semester of the ninth grade, compares a traditional economy with a system where most decisions are made in the market (the United States) and a system where most decisions are made by command (the Soviet Union). For each system we focus upon the way in which the basic economic questions - what, how and for whom - are answered. We also examine the relationship between the base society's value system and the way in which it answers the basic economic questions.

The course designed for the first semester of tenth grade is called The Shaping of Western Society. It consists of seventeen units, each focused upon a major problem of historical interpretation. Throughout the year we are interested in the problem of change over time. Hence, students investigate changes in four areas of western society: politics, the economic system, the social organization, and patterns of thought. Two of these themes draw directly upon the structure of political science and economics which students have studied during the freshman year. The other two, touched upon briefly in ninth grade, are developed fully for the first time in this course.

Studies in the Non-Western World, designed for students in the second semester of tenth grade, has been organized around four units: South Africa, China, India and Brazil. In each unit students study the traditional culture before the impact of the West, examine the way in which particular Western ideas and institutions were diffused to the society and analyze one major contemporary problem. For China we study the problem of totalitarianism, drawing on key threads from the political science course and from the first semester of the tenth grade. For India, economic growth and development is the key issue. Here students use the structure from the course in Comparative Economic Systems and from several units in the first semester of tenth grade. The South African unit emphasizes the problems of apartheid. It contrasts the theme of equality against inequality which was introduced in the Shaping of Western Society. The study of Brazil encompasses many themes from the first semester and raises basic questions about the contemporary population explosion.

The eleventh grade Advanced Placement American History course has four major themes: the development of the American economic system, the growth of the American political system, the changing American social structure, and the reflection of these developments in the American intellectual tradition. Throughout the course students use analytical questions they have learned in ninth and tenth grades. Using these questions provides both a review and a device for deepening a student's understanding through using information in a new context.

The development of the skills and abilities identified by Bloom in the TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES has also been arranged in cumulative and sequential order. Although it is impossible to develop one's skill fully before a more difficult one is begun, we have attempted in each of the first three years of the sequence to concentrate upon skills in roughly sequential order. Similarly, but with less chance of success, we have tried to concentrate our attention in the affective domain in an ascending order of difficulty over the four years of the curriculum.

In each succeeding year of their work, students are thrown more and more on their own to pursue independent investigations. The first year's course in Comparative Political and Economic Systems is tightly structured to teach essential skills, a mode of inquiry, and a battery of analytical questions drawn from political science and economics. Because students are expected to use this new knowledge and skills in the tenth grade, the course is less tightly organized. The eleventh grade course encourages even greater freedom for each student and involves a larger number of discovery exercises and assignments in which students are to bring analytical questions to bear upon the data presented in their reading. Thus the cumulative sequence has been designed to prepare an evaluating device by which the teacher can judge roughly the degree to which students have mastered material.

In order to teach a course late in the sequence, teachers should know what their students have learned in earlier years. The best way for a teacher to put himself in the student's shoes is to read the material written for the previous courses. Unless he does so, much of the effect of the sequential and cumulative curriculum may be lost.

Supplementary Materials

Most high school semesters are eighteen weeks long. We have provided readings in each course for from fifteen to seventeen weeks. This procedure encourages each teacher to develop materials for an additional week or two on his own or to use one or more of the supplementary projects developed by our staff. Most creative teachers want to include work about some topics in which they are specialists. This sort of flexibility has been provided by including a smaller quantity of reading material than is usual in typical high school courses.

Each week's work has been organized around four readings, leaving the fifth day of each week free. It can be utilized in a variety of ways. Since a battery of short examinations has been provided, many teachers may choose to use part of the fifth day for examinations. Others may wish to discuss current events. In addition, we have provided with each course suggested supplementary readings or exercises which the students can do independently for their fifth assignment each week. During the first semester of ninth grade, students may read from a large collection of articles from current periodicals which can be provided inexpensively in the library. For the economics course they do a number of exercises derived primarily from newspapers. In the first semester of tenth grade they learn to use the library, to write a book review, and to do a controlled research paper. In the second semester of that year they read and review two novels and write an independent research paper in the library. A substantial outside reading program, drawn from recent literature in American history, has been provided for the eleventh grade Advanced Placement course.

Evaluation

A complete battery of objective and essay tests has been provided for all of the courses in the sequence. The testing program has been closely coordinated with the objectives. Short objective quizzes check the recall of factual information and are designed mostly as policing devices to make certain that students read their assignments regularly. Objective examinations usually covering about two week's work have been designed primarily to check knowledge of structure, the development of skills and abilities, certain affective objectives and the knowledge of content drawn from two or more readings. Essay tests, usually also covering two week's work, assess the ability of a student to write history and the social sciences effectively and to use the skills and abilities as well as the mode of inquiry which he has learned.

Two additional types of evaluation require brief comments. The independent research papers which a student writes are the primary evaluating instruments which determine whether or not he can use the historian's method of inquiry well. Only when he can do an independent investigation has he really learned this vital art. The other major evaluating device available to teachers is the degree of skills which students show in class discussions. The constant interplay between teacher and students in small groups often enables a teacher to assess the ability with which his students can utilize the skills they have been taught. Teachers should never overlook the vital contribution of class discussions as evaluating devices.

Maximum Teacher Aids

Like the new curriculum projects in mathematics and the sciences, the four courses in this sequence will be accompanied by maximum aids to the teachers. This elaborate explanation of what we are doing is the first such aid but it does not meet the full obligations of curriculum developers to teachers. Only model daily lesson plans can do so.

This series of courses is substantially different from those that fall within the experience of most teachers. The objectives are different, the teaching strategies are different, the materials are different, even the grouping of students is different. Because so many variables have been changed, the designers of the course feel obliged to indicate to teachers at least one way in which to handle this new context for teaching. We do not intend that lesson plans should be restrictive. Quite the contrary. Teachers should depart substantially from lesson plans or ignore them completely when they decide to work toward other objectives with particular materials. As designers of materials, however, we have felt obliged to indicate one tested way of reaching specified objectives with a particular teaching strategy, set of materials, and grouping of students called upon for a day's work.

The teacher's manual which follows this introduction contains a model lesson plan for each day of the school year. Any creative teacher could develop a number of alternative ways to handle the same material for either the same objectives or for other ones which he might consider appropriate. But beginning teachers or teachers who are embracing quite different materials and teaching strategies for the first time often find model lesson plans extremely useful, particularly in the midst of their busy academic schedule. Hence all teachers are invited to use the teacher's manual as they see fit. The alternatives range from following it precisely day by day to ignoring it completely. Most people will fall along a continuum somewhere between these two extremes. Even teachers who wish to go their own way entirely may find it helpful to look at lesson plans from time to time, partly as a reminder about the relationships of objectives, materials, and teaching strategy and partly as a possible source for new ideas.

Conclusion

We encourage criticism of our overall philosophy, of the materials we have developed, and of our teaching strategies. The Center has already benefited considerably from the comments of teachers who have tried out our courses in experimental form. We invite other teachers to join this dialogue.

Footnote References

1/ Benjamin S. Bloom et al., TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS: HANDBOOK I: COGNITIVE DOMAIN. New York, 1956. We have chosen this standard system of classifying cognitive skills in preference to a more recent and in some ways more provocative scheme proposed in the following article: Robert H. Ennis, "A Concept of Critical Thinking," HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XXXII, 1 (Winter, 1962), 81-111.

2/ David R. Krathwohl, Benjamin S. Bloom, Bertram B. Masia, TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS: HANDBOOK II: AFFECTIVE DOMAIN. New York, 1964.

3/ For a provocative discussion of the manner in which the role of values has been neglected in traditional social studies textbooks see James P. Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values, and Social Studies Textbooks," THE SCHOOL REVIEW, Vol. 73, No. 3, (Autumn, 1965), 226-257.

4/ Innumerable volumes discuss the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences. One useful summary for students is Paul L. Ward, A Style of History for Beginners. Service Center for Teachers of History, American Historical Association, Washington, 1959.

5/ Some of our conceptions of structure have been drawn from Jerome Bruner, THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION, Cambridge, 1960; Joseph J. Schwab, "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline," in THE EDUCATIONAL RECORD, XLIII, July 1962, 197-205, also in PROFESSIONAL REPRINTS IN EDUCATION, #8001, (Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc. Columbus); and Lawrence E. Metcalf, "Teaching Economic Concepts in the Social Studies," THE COUNCILOR, XXI, I (March, 1960), 24-31.

6/ For a radically different set of criteria for the inclusion of content see Donald W. Oliver, "The Selection of Content in the Social Studies," HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XXVII, (Fall, 1957), 271-300.

7/ John W. Kidd, "With the Technician," JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION, Vol. 33, November, 1962, 440-444.

8/ Six films demonstrating inductive teaching of materials developed at the Tech Social Studies Curriculum Development Center are available through Holt, Rinehart and Winston Co., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. In March, 1966, Holt will publish a social studies methods volume (Edwin Fenton, TEACHING THE NEW SOCIAL STUDIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH) based upon teaching strategies used in the Tech Center.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day I

LEADERSHIP IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the selection of a leader and the decision-making procedure stemmed from the experience of the POW's as U.S. citizens and therefore was a simply structured analog of the American political system.
2. there is ultimate authority in every political system variously engendered, allocated, supported and maintained.
3. criteria for leadership are determined by the value systems held by those selecting the leader.

Skill Objectives:

1. Interpretation 2.20
2. Production of a unique communication 5.10
3. Derivation of a set of abstract relationships 5.30

Materials:

3 transparencies
Class handout

Procedures:

1. Place the note transparency on the overhead projector. Tell students that copies will be distributed at the end of the class. Use the notes during class discussion to demonstrate the use of reading notes during class and the qualities of good notes.
2. Divide class into groups of six or seven students--quick, casual, arbitrary division.
3. Give out sheet of questions with instructions not to write on the sheet.
4. Assign one question to each group for discussion.
5. Indicate that a report on the assigned question will be called for in exactly eight minutes.
6. Quietly and unobtrusively ask one member of each group to observe
   a) who becomes the group's leader
   b) how the reporter is chosen
   c) in general, how the group organizes itself
7. Call for buzz group reports using the leadership qualities transparency after the buzz group report and the government structure transparency for the other groups to talk from.
8. Have students write class answers on question sheet. (May use projector here as teacher writes answer.)
9. Have students who observed group process report.
10. Ask students if the qualities of Kent were the same as the characteristics of the leaders of their own groups. Why or why not?

Teacher's reading: Leonard Woolf, "What is Politics?" in Rogow, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, pp. 36-40.

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Leadership in Stoerpenburg Camp

Notes - Introduction

All governments require and therefore must recruit and train political leaders regardless of how power is gained and maintained.

Leaders must gain and then maintain the support of the people. They do so by communicating with them and by being responsive to their wishes.

What are the characteristics of leaders?
Are they the same for all societies?

Learning to ask the key questions is essential to all learning and certain kinds of big questions can be used in many situations.

Notes - Section B

160POW's inGerman prison camp,all privates cross section of U.S.,Housed in a gym, aisle of tables down center, bunks on either wall

10 tables,16 men at each for meals
German officer says choose a leader to relay orders and carry out rules.

POW's decide to elect leader - campaign for favorites - voting by show of hands - Kent elected.- good physical appearance - strong personality,college grad, acting sgt., good battle record.

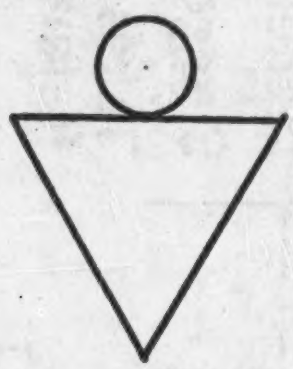
Kent - food distribution,how? Divided into 10 parts by tables - elect table leader to take charge,Men elected: college or high school grads, some had been non-coms - all spoke well.

Table leaders suggest council of Kent and 10 table leaders to govern,Kent agrees,passes information on to council at regular meetings. Table leaders tell their men. Council handles living arrangements,gives clean-up assignments.

Man brings problem to table leader. If table leader can not handle referred to Council. Important problems referred to tables for discussion and referendum.

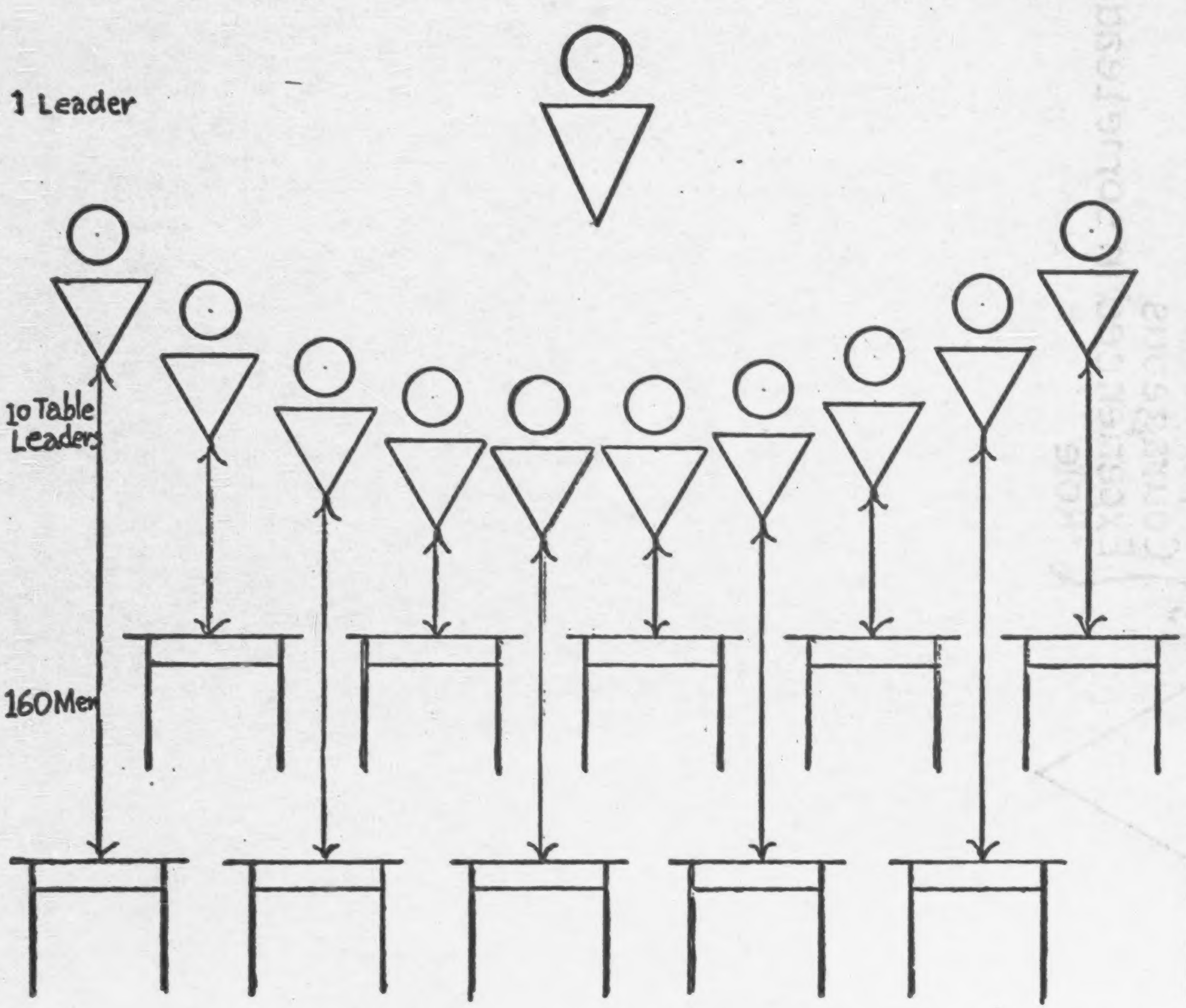
Leadership Qualities as defined in Stoerpenburg Camp

A Leader



is
- Educated
- Capable of Communicating
- Dependable
- Courageous
- Experienced in some Leadership Role

The Government of Stoerpenburg Camp


1 Leader
10 Table Leaders
160 Men

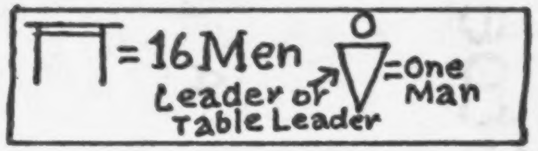
Suggests Laws
Presides Over Council
Passes on Orders

—

Helps Make Laws
Suggests Laws
Settles Questions from Voters
Represents Voters at Council
Carries Out Decisions of Council

—

Nominates & Elects Leader & Table Leader
Suggests Legislation
Takes Part in Referenda


= 16 Men
Leader or Table Leader
= One Man

LEADERSHIP IN STOERPENBURG CAMP

Notes - Introduction

All governments require and therefore must recruit and train political leaders regardless of how power is gained and maintained.

Leaders must gain and then maintain the support of the people. They do so by communicating with them and by being responsive to their wishes.

What are the characteristics of leaders? Are they the same for all societies?

Learning to ask the key questions is essential to all learning and certain kinds of big questions can be used in many situations.

Reading I, Part I

Notes - Section B

160 POW's in German prison camp - all privates, cross section all U.S. Housed in gym - aisle of tables down center; bunks on either wall.

10 tables; 16 men at each for meals
German officer says choose a leader to relay orders and carry out rules

POW's decide to elect leader. Campaign for favorites. Voting by show of hands. Kent elected. Good physical appearance. Strong personality, college grad, acting sgt, good battle record

Kent - food distribution, how? Divided into 10 parts by tables. Elect table leader to take charge. Men elected: college or H.S. grads, some had been non-coms - all spoke well.

Table leaders suggest council of Kent and 10 table leaders to govern. K agrees, passes information on to council at regular meetings. Table leaders tell their men. Council handles living arrangements, gives clean-up assignments.

Man brings problem to table leader. If table leader cannot handle, referred to Council. Important problems referred to tables for discussion and a referendum.

LEADERSHIP IN STOERPENBURG CAMP

Questions

1. What qualities did the prisoners want their leaders to have?

2. Where did the authority and power lie in the prisoners' government?

3. Why did they choose the kind of government they set up?

4. How were the leaders of the group chosen?

5. How were "laws" passed and made known to those who were governed?

6. Why was the Council important?

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 2

DECISION-MAKING IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the decision-making procedure in Stoerpenberg Camp was roughly parallel to the system of decision-making in American society.
2. initiative for legislation came from anyone in the society, but that initiative on major policies came from the leaders.
3. the table leaders meeting in the council controlled the flow of legislation just as the House Rules Committee controls the flow of legislation in the United States House of Representatives.
4. laws were made by the vote of elected representatives, or occasionally, by a referendum of all the citizens of the society.
5. the elected leader of Stoerpenberg Camp had great personal power in a crisis, just as many of our elected leaders do.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Synthesis 5.00
3. Translation 2.10

Materials:

One transparency

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during class discussion as significant points are raised by the students. This process will demonstrate to students what good class notes look like, and will show them some techniques for classroom note taking.
2. How was the decision-making process organized in Stoerpenberg Camp? (Place on the projector the government structure transparency used for Lesson #1.)
   a) Who made suggestions for passing new laws in the Camp? Would people be more likely to listen to the suggestions of Kent than of one of the prisoners who was not a table leader? Why? Do you think the same conclusion is true of the President as contrasted to an ordinary American citizen?
   b) Who in Stoerpenberg Camp decided whether a suggestion was worth discussing at the meeting of the table leaders? Could the table leaders block effectively the discussion of a topic they did not think important or did not want discussed? Does anyone know whether a group of people has similar power in the United States House of Representatives? (At this point, introduce the term "control of the agenda" to describe the process we have been talking about.)
   c) In what two ways could a new law be made?
   d) How were laws carried out?

3. Was the procedure for making decisions in Steerpenberg Camp similar to the way the American government operates?
4. Let's turn to the case of Court and Bertrum. Someone tell me briefly what happened. Now, how did Kent handle the situation when violence erupted? Why did the author think that Kent alone could stop the violence by the sort of action he took? What does this reveal about who really had political power in Steerpenberg society? Do you think our President can play a similar role in an outbreak of violence, such as some of the racial troubles in both North and South?

Reading II
Notes INTRODUCTION: Decision-making in Stoerpenberg Camp

Government exists to make decisions vital to a society .
The family has a "government", parents are the leaders who may make decisions without asking your advice but who may consult you when you are most directly involved.

Societies organize institutions to make decisions
Our President, Congress and courts make up a complicated system for decision-making involving such things as political parties and elections.

The POW"s of Stoerpenberg Camp made political decisions by setting up a simple political system that performed all three functions--executive, legislative, judicial.

Notes Part II Stoerpenberg Camp

Camp functioned effectively within a few weeks with men organized into units each having regularly rotated duties. An unwritten code that every man new and lived by developed.-------------------- -----
Code: no stealing from each other, particularly food and tobacco; stealing from Germans o.k. but if caught POW must involve no-one; keep clean; o.k. to "gold brick" if not caught ------------ ------------

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN STOERPENBERG CAMP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the organization of political activities at Stoerpenberg Camp made direct participation by all voters possible in a way that is impossible in a complex society such as ours.
2. political activity was more important to the Stoerpenberg prisoners than to American citizens for two reasons: outside of politics, there was little else to do in the Camp; and, political decisions had a direct effect on such important matters as the distribution of food.
3. the Stoerpenberg prisoners had more information about political matters than typical American citizens do.
4. Stoerpenberg prisoners had more direct access to the ear of political decision-makers than typical American citizens do.
5. as a society becomes more complex, politics seems more remote to the individual citizen.

Skill Objectives:

1. Synthesis 5.00
2. Translation 2.10

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during class discussion as significant points are raised by the students. This procedure will demonstrate to students what good class notes look like, and will show them some techniques for classroom note-taking.
2. How important were political activities to the people in Stoerpenberg Camp? Did they have as many distractions, such as television or radio, as typical Americans have? Were the decisions that were made more important directly to their lives? Was it possible for all of them to participate directly in the political process and to observe what was going on? Might a large number of distractions, the fact that politics is not so important to everyday living, and the great distance between voter and decision-maker make politics seem less important to many Americans?
3. How did the prisoners in Stoerpenberg get information about politics? How do you and your parents get information about politics in the United States?
4. How could a citizen in Stoerpenberg Camp get access to the ear of a decision-maker? Was this rather easy? Was it important? How would you go about getting the ear of a decision-maker in your city, your state, or your national government? Is the process as easy and simple?
5. We have been examining the role of the individual in a simple society such as Stoerpenberg Camp, and talking about parallel situations in American society. Would anyone now like to try to generalize about the comparative importance of politics in a small, simple society such as Stoerpenberg, or in a large, complex society such as ours?

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 4

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. almost every group develops leaders.
2. among primitive tribes four basic types of leaders can be identified: the headman, chief, hereditary monarch and sacred chief or king.
3. the type of person who is a leader in one situation may not be the leader in another.
4. the type of society and personal characteristics of individuals are the major determinants of leadership.

Skill Objectives:

1. Synthesis 5.00
2. Application 3.00

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during class discussion as significant points are raised by the students. This process will demonstrate to students what good class notes look like, and will show them some techniques for classroom note-taking.
2. Today we are going to investigate political leadership in primitive societies. Why should we study about leaders? What good will it do us to be able to identify leaders in different situations? Do all societies have leaders?
3. What four types of leaders were described in this reading? Why do you think that four different types of leaders developed in primitive societies? Were these societies so different? (The teacher should nail down the concept that the different values and customs of different societies called for different types of leaders.) Do you mean that a leader in one society would not necessarily become a leader in another society?
4. Let's examine these six cases and see if you can identify the leaders mentioned. (Students should be given time to read each case.)

Case #1

What type of leader is Tselane? (Sacred chief) What clues seem to point to this identity? What type of society would have a sacred chief? (Simple) Do you think Tselane is a specialized leader? (No. He is a religious figure and presides over a council. He also makes decisions.)

Case #2

What type of a leader is Khruna? (Headman) What clues seem to point to this identity? What jobs does he perform? What personal characteristics does our author use to describe a headman? Do any of these fit Khruna?

Case #3

What type of a society is pictured here? (A warlike society, probably a North American Indian tribe) What type of a leader is Silver Star? (War chief) Is he a political leader? (No) What is his primary function? (To lead in battle) What differences do you see between Silver Star and Khruna?

Case #4

What type of a leader is Jabu? (Headman) What clues point to this? (Simple family-type society; Jabu works in the field with the other men. He leads in war because of prowess, and yet he makes peace.) Is Jabu a specialized type of leader? (No, the clues show that he performs many functions, not just one.)

Case #5

What type of leader was Bankuli? (Peace Chief) What clues show this? (Age; wisdom; has no power to command)

Case #6

What type of a leader is Jomo? (Hereditary monarch) Are personal characteristics influential in choosing this type of leader? Do personal characteristics determine the effectiveness of this type of a leader? The author stated that hereditary monarchs bring stability to the political structure of a society. What does he mean by this? What kind of society is described here as Jomo's kingdom? Is this the type of society that usually has a hereditary monarch? (Yes)

5. We've said that a leader in one society would not necessarily become a leader in another society. Let's examine the information we have to check this. Would Jomo be a successful leader in Bankuli's society or Silver Star's society? Why not? (Personal characteristics) Would Jabu be accepted as a leader in Jomo's society? (No) Why not? (He would have to be born into the leader's position.) What different conditions in these two societies make the leaders' roles different? Then can we say that the types of societies as well as personal characteristics determine leaders?

Teacher's reading: See index under government in Lisitzky, FOUR WAYS OF BEING HUMAN.
Lord Pethick-Laurence, "The Monarchy" in Hamilton, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, 216-218.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 5

DECISION-MAKING AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. in a primitive society individuals are controlled by social mores and customs rather than by law.
2. new rules come into being only after a long process involving an action which sets a precedent and which ultimately evolves into accepted principle.
3. In exceptional circumstances a new situation did occasionally arise which made the enactment of a law necessary.
4. the explicit aim of Cheyenne law was reform, not revenge.

Skill Objective:

1. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

One handout
One tape

Procedures:

1. Yesterday we discussed some of the types of leaders found in primitive societies. Today we are going to investigate the decision-making process among primitive peoples. Did you find anything unusual about the way decisions were made in the Cheyenne society? What groups made the decisions for the Cheyenne? (Military societies and the Council of Forty-Four) Were there written laws in the Cheyenne society? (No) Then how were these leaders guided in their decisions? (By custom and tradition)
2. Introduce the tape and point out the topics covered in each of the three sections. The tape requires approximately 23 minutes of playing time. Distribute the class handout containing questions about the tape so that students can look at them as they listen. Discuss each section of the tape at the indicated breaking points.
3. If time remains at the end of the hour, you may wish to use one or more of the following questions:
   a) Does our society seek to reform or revenge itself upon criminals by its legal system? (This is a convenient point to raise the issues concerning capital punishment and how this would appear from the perspective of the Cheyenne.)
   b) Was Red Robe the victim of *ex post facto* legislation? Explain why Red Robe could not be punished in our system for breaking a law which did not exist at time he broke it.
   c) High-Backed Wolf: "Now listen to me Red Robe. You are quite old enough to know what is right. ...Now leave off this foolishness." Is this more of a paternal or a legal attitude? Why do you suppose lawyers would have little or no function in Cheyenne society?

THE CASE OF THE REPENTANT HORSE THIEF

The recording you will hear today is entitled "The Case of The Repentent Horse Thief." It describes the ways in which laws were made in the Cheyenne society. Today's recording can be used to examine the decision-making procedure in primitive societies.

We have divided the tape into three parts. We shall discuss each of these parts in sequence. As you listen to the first part of the tape, think about the following questions:

1. What led to the need for a new law?
2. Who took the initiative for new legislation?
3. Why did each warrior give an account of his exploits in battle before he spoke?
4. How did the Bowstring Soldiers arrive at a decision about the new law? How did the Council of 44 and the Dog Soldier chiefs arrive at their decisions?

The second part of the tape describes the execution of the new law. As you listen, think about the following questions:

1. Did the same men who made the law carry it out? Why?
2. Was Red Robe tried before he was punished? How was the decision to punish him made?
3. In your reading you encountered two cases of law breaking. How were they handled?

The third part of the tape describes the Cheyenne theory of rehabilitation. As you listen, think about the following questions:

1. Did the men who made law and carried it out also control the judicial system?
2. What was the procedure like? Is there any procedure similar to smoking the pipe in an American trial? How was the decision made in this particular case?
3. What was the purpose of punishment among the Cheyenne?

SCRIPT OF TAPE: THE CASE OF THE REPENTANT HORSE THIEF *

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* Professor Walter Goldschmidt, "The Repentant Horse Thief," a recording in the series "The Ways of Mankind," Series II, (Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois, National Association of Educational Broadcasters)

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. in complex primitive societies the role of the individual citizen in the political system is established by custom.
2. the values held by individuals are a product of the culture to which they owe their loyalty.
3. the way people act may seem very strange to us, but we would act similarly if we lived in the same culture.
4. the pressure to conform to the demands of the culture will sometimes cause an individual to resist his own natural instincts for self-preservation.

Skill Objective:

1. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

One tape
One handout

Procedures:

1. The tape will require approximately 23 minutes to play. Begin the class by defining the word culture and by explaining that we are the products of our own culture. (Culture - the combination of distinctive attainments, beliefs and traditions that make up the background of a racial, religious or social group) Avoid a discussion of the ways in which a culture determines one's values. These should be pulled from the students inductively after they have listened to the tape. The entire class period should be devoted to a discussion of the tape organized around the questions indicated on the class handout.

STAND-IN FOR A MURDERER

The recording you will hear today is entitled, "Stand-In For A Murderer." It is a part of "The Ways of Mankind" series, edited by Professor Walter Goldschmidt of the University of California. You have already heard another record from this series, "The Case of the Repentant Horse Thief." Today's recording can be used to examine the responsibilities of the individual citizen in the culture of the Tlingit Indians of Southeastern Alaska.

We have divided the recording into two parts and shall discuss the first part at an appropriate point. As you listen to this selection of the recording, think about the following questions:

1. What are the major values of Tlingit culture which are revealed in this recording? What, for example, is the attitude of the Tlingit toward acquiring a large quantity of possessions?
2. If a citizen of this tribe has collected a large quantity of valuable possessions, what is he expected to do with them in order to honor a visitor or bring prestige or gain to his society?
3. Do typical Americans take this same attitude toward possessions?

The second part of this recording concerns another role of the citizen in Tlingit society. As you listen, think about the following questions:

1. The Tlingits seem to be excessively jealous of their status and most anxious to preserve "face" both within their own tribe and in relationship to their enemies. How is this value of Tlingit society reflected in what is expected of the individual member of the group?

2. To what degree is a Tlingit Indian expected to demonstrate his loyalty to the clan of which he is a part?

3. Are American citizens ever expected to display loyalty such as this to their society?

SCRIPT OF TAPE: STAND-IN FOR A MURDERER" *

* From Professor Walter Goldschmidt, "Stand-In For A Murderer," a recording in the series "The Ways of Mankind, Series I, (Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois, National Association of Educational Broadcasters).

CHECKING WHAT YOU KNOW

Subject Objective: None

Skill Objectives:

1. Production of a unique communication 5.10
2. Prduction of a plan, or proposed set of operations 5.20

Materials:

Three transparencies
Essay examination

Procedures:

1. Today's class will be devoted to the essay examination. If any time remains the teacher may use it to discuss the study question assignment students had completed for homework.
2. Place on the overhead projector the first of the three transparencies for the day. This transparency gives directions for an essay examination, an examination question, and a brief outline of an answer. Let the students read the material from the transparency and then explain it to them. Next, place the second transparency on the projector. This contains a sample answer to the question they have just seen. Let the students read the answer through, then ask them to identify the topic sentence in each of the two paragraphs. Underline the topic sentence with a wax pencil. Next, ask them to read through the first paragraph again, and look at the way it is developed. Finally, point to the specific evidence contained in the paragraph, and underline phrases to make the nature of specific evidence clear to students.
3. Collect the students' written assignment on the study questions. Teacher may read them while the test is in progress.
4. Pass out the essay exam. Announce that students will be given twenty minutes for exam. Adhere to the time limit.
5. If time permits, discuss the study question assignment for Reading 7. Some possible study questions are listed below.
   - I. Making of a War Chief
     - a. What was the role of a war chief?
     - b. What qualities were valued in a war chief?
     - c. How do these qualities reflect the values of Comanche society?
   - II.
     - a. What was the role of a peace chief?
     - b. What qualities were valued in a peace chief?
     - c. Who had more power in Comanche society, the war chief or peace chief?

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 1-7
ESSAY EXAMINATION I

This is an essay examination and will last twenty minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both; if you do, your teacher will grade only the first. Follow the directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you begin to write.

1. "The men we have studied became political leaders in different ways."

   Write a short paragraph (no more than six or seven sentences) in which you describe the ways in which Kent (the Stoerpenberg leader), the war chief, the peace chief and the hereditary monarch become leaders of their societies, using the quotation above as the topic sentence of your paragraph.

   Then write another paragraph of about the same length in which you explain why Kent was chosen in one way and the peace chief in another.

2. "A man who is a good leader in one situation might be a poor one in another."

   In a paragraph no more than a dozen sentences long defend or attack the statement above using as evidence the information you have learned about the peace chief, the war chief, the headman and the hereditary monarch.

EXAMINATION

Directions: This is an essay examination and will last about twenty minutes. Follow directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper to help you plan your answer.

Question: "Leaders in politics attract support in different ways." Write a short paragraph (no more than six or seven sentences) in which you describe the ways in which Kent, the War Chief, and the peace chief attracted support, using the quotation above as the topic sentence of your paragraph. Then write another paragraph of about the same length in which you give reasons for the different ways used to attract support by Kent and the War Chief.

Kent - campaigns
WC - kills enemies
PC - does nothing

Kent - imitates way done in U.S.
WC - reflects culture

2-2

160 prisoners in two weeks had developed small society--had government; made laws; had economic organization to distribute food; had social structure; had informal code to live by.

Incident arose: theft of food at table 5. Grew out of actions of man named Court who hoarded and guarded bread although inedible. Ainslee, table 5.leader, believed Court mentally ill. Bartram, table 5, had commented upon the wastfulness of Court's behavior. Following Bartrum's lateness to formation Court discovered his hoarded bread missing. Bread found in Bartrum's bunk. Before Ainslee could go to Kent, Bartrum attacted by large group. Kent rescued Bartrum. As he talked to men, table leaders surounded him Kent, holding Bartrum, and table leaders withdrew and considered what to do. Barrtrum soon admitted theft, felt justified, but was ready for punishment. He was isolated for one month, given two hours extra work, had to replace bread from his own ration. Sentence passed upon by whole group. Bartrum warned of increased punishment for 2nd offense. Every man enforced punishment by not speaking to Bartrum and by supervising his extra work.

Society ended by Allied attack.

SAMPLE ANSWER

Leaders in politics attract support in different ways. The three leaders we have studied illustrate this statement. Kent, the leader of the American prisoners of war in Stoerpenberg Camp, attracted followers because he had a good personality and could speak well and also because his college education and experience as an acting non-commissioned officer gave him a good background. The campaign speeches made for him probably emphasized these points. The war chief attracted support by fighting bravely and by having his deeds became well known in the tribe. The peace chief just remained in the tribe until his age, his reputation for wisdom won him this position. In each situation the "voters" needed a certain sort of person and the one chosen had the necessary qualities.

SAMPLE ANSWER -2

Kent and the war chief attracted support in different ways because they came from different societies. Kent, an American citizen, used techniques, such as a campaign speech, which are accepted in American society. His personal qualities would also be attractive to many Americans. The war chief lived in a society where bravery in battle and killing the enemy were highly esteemed. This is why he could attract support by doing brave deeds.

SPECIALIZATION OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. political leaders in the United States are differentiated from leaders in other areas of life.
2. within the group of political leaders, specialists have emerged.
3. four major types of leaders can be identified: elected officials, professional party organizers, appointed bureaucrats and experts brought in from outside government.
4. differentiation and specialization of political leadership in the United States reflects the complexity of our urban, industrial society.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Translation 2.10
3. Synthesis 5.00

Materials:

One transparency

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during class discussion as significant points are raised by the students. This process will demonstrate to students what good class notes look like, and will show them some techniques for classroom note taking.
2. The teacher should develop in students an awareness of the complexity of American society. Begin with some short activity such as having students list all mechanical devices used in their home. How many were made by the family? How many could members of the family completely repair? This exercise should create awareness of society's complexity and need for specialization.
3. What does the author mean by the word functions? (Certain necessary social tasks) Give me some examples. Can all these functions (economic, education, religion, government) be performed in America today by one group? Why not? (Need for differentiation)
4. What does the author call leaders in different functional fields? (Differentiated leaders)
5. What do we mean when we say that a society's leadership is undifferentiated? That it is differentiated?
6. Who can give an example of a society whose leadership is undifferentiated and which had no political specialists? (Stoerpenberg) Did the Cheyenne Indians specialize at all? Were their leaders differentiated?
7. Is leadership in the United States differentiated? Give some examples.

8. What do we mean by specialization of leadership in politics?
9. Is our political leadership specialized? What four types have emerged?
10. Why is our leadership specialized and differentiated? Is it likely to become more so in the future? Why? Do you think that the same type of specialization and differentiation would exist in the Soviet Union? (Yes) Why? (Complex society)
11. Teacher may use a prepared transparency or make his own list of government and political offices to fix the four categories of American political specialists in students' minds.

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, Chapters 15, 18, 19 and 20 contain material on differentiation and specialization and emphasize the different tasks which legislative, executive and judicial officials perform.

1. Secretary of Defense ------------------
2. Member of House of Representatives ---
3. A State National Committeeman ---------
4. A Teacher in the Peace Corps ----------
5. A Government Engineer in Africa ------
6. Mayor of Pittsburgh ------------------
7. Supreme Court Justice -----------------
8. President, Council of Economic
   Advisors ---------------------------
9. American Ambassador to the U.N. ------
10. Governer of a State ------------------
11. David L. Lawrence ---------------------
12. The Postmaster of Pittsburgh ---------
13. Presidents Council on Youth Fitness--
14. Ambassador to South Viet Nam ---------
15. Democratic Leader of the 4th Ward
    of Pittsburgh ---------------------

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. important political decision-makers on the national level are drawn disproportionately from privileged social backgrounds. There are marked advantages to being white, Protestant, college educated, reared in the family of a professional man, and trained for a professional career, particularly for the law.
2. other factors in addition to social class--age, sex, and place of origin--are also important aspects of the recruitment of political decision-makers.
3. the United States cannot be said to have a conscious "ruling class".

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

Five transparencies
One handout

Procedures:

1. Place each of the 5 transparencies on the projector in order. As you approach each chart begin discussion with a general question asking what the chart is supposed to represent. Before asking the questions printed under the tables, test the students' understanding of the chart by a few specific preparatory questions. Example:
   TABLE II What does the N refer to? What does the number 100 indicate in the last column? How many Protestant Senators were there in the 78th Congress?
   TABLE III Explain the meaning of the last column titled "Population Over 25 Years of Age. 1940"
2. Ask the questions printed under each table as students work with the tables. Use a pointer to identify the specific information they have extracted. Pay particular attention to the accurate use of tables in order to develop skill in this technique.
3. As each table is completed encourage students to make some general comment on the basis of the information given. Examples:
   TABLE I Negroes are not proportionally represented in the American Congress.
   TABLE II Certain religious groups have greater representation in Congress than their percentage of total claimed membership would warrant. (Identify these groups.) Certain religious groups have less representation in Congress than their membership warrants. (Identify these.)

TABLE III The college educated group in America has a greater proportion of political leaders.
TABLE IV Most political leaders were sons of farmers, lawyers, and the proprietary and official class.
TABLE V The professional and proprietary class produces more decision-makers.

4. As students make these generalizations after each chart have them take them down in their notes. The teacher could put these generalizations on the board if he so desired.
5. Will someone now try to describe a "typical" decision-maker on a national level?
6. Does this information imply that the U.S. has a ruling class? After a brief discussion hand out the Matthews' answer to this question and continue the discussion.

9-1

Educational Level of Decision Makers

Highest Educational Level Attained

	None	Grade School	High School	College
	%	%	%	%
Presidents, Vice Presidents, Cabinet Members 1877-1934	0	11	10	79
Supreme Court Justices 1897-1937	0	0	0	100
United States Senators 1949-1951	0	3	10	87
United States Representatives 1941-1943	0	0	12	88
High Level Civil Servants 1940	0	0	7	93
Population over 25 Years of Age 1940	5	54	31	10

OCC CLASS OF AMERICAN POL DECISION-MAKERS

Occupational Class	President Vice-Pres Cabinet 1877-1934	United States Rep. 1949-51	State Legislators 1925-35	Labor Force 1940
Professionals	74%	69%	36%	7%
Lawyers	70	56	28	
Others	4	13	8	
Proprietors & Officials	21	22	25	8
Farmers	2	4	22	11
Low-salaried workers	1	1	4	17
Wage earners	2	2	3	40
Servants	0	0	0	11
Farm laborers.	0	0	0	7
Unknown, uncl.	0	2	10	0
	100	100	100	100
	(n-176)	(n-435)	(n-12,689)	

9-2

Occ. of Fathers of Am. Pol. Decision-makers

Occ. Class Fath.	President V. Pres. Cabinet 1789-1934	Hi-Lev Civil Serv. 1940	Senator 81st Cong. 1949-51	Rep. 77th Cong. 1941-3	Labor Force 1890
Prof.	38%	28%	22%	31%	5%
Prop, Off,	20	30	33	31	6
Farm.	38	29	40	29	26
Lo-sal work.	•	3	1	0	5
Wage	4	10	3	9	36
Serv,	0	0	0	0	7
Farm. lab.	0	0	0	0	15
Unknown Unclass	0	0	1	0	0
	100 (n=311)	100 (n=180)	100 (n=109)	100 (n=186)	100

•Less than 1

7-4

Religious Aff.-U.S. Senators, Representatives

Religion	81st Congress Senate	81st Congress House	Total Membership of Rel. Pop. in U.S.
Protestant	87%	83%	59%
Cong.	6	4	6
Presby.	12	12	4
Epis.	10	12	3
Unitar.	1	1	*
Meth.	17	22	13
Luth.	4	4	7
Bapt.	13	12	20
Unspec., other.	24	17	6
Rom. Cath.	12	16	34
Jewish	1	1	6
Other	0	0	1
None	0	0	0
	100	100	100
	(n=109)	(n=289)	

*Less than 0.5%

IX for distribution in class

IS THERE A RULING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES*

Two readings from Donald R. Matthews, THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF POLITICAL DECISON MAKERS, (New York, Random House: 1954), pp. 32-33.

Dizeussion of question and delineation of factors other than socioeconomic status in recruitment of political decision makers.

WHAT MAKES A MAN A GOOD PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE?

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. most presidential candidates must meet certain standards of background and experience before they can attract enough votes to win.
2. the "nine tests" reflect the value system of American society.
3. the criteria for eligibility change over time as the culture changes.
4. the criteria for choosing a presidential candidate do not apply to local or state politics or to many offices on the national level.

Skill Objectives:

1. Interpretation 2.20
2. Synthesis 5.00

Materials:

One transparency

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during class discussion as significant points are raised. This procedure will demonstrate to students what good notes look like and will show them good techniques for classroom note taking.
2. Why does the author argue that only a handful of men can be considered serious presidential prospects?
3. Let's see if you understand the tests. As I name them, define each for me. (Place the transparency listing the tests on the projector and write in definitions with a grease pencil.)
   a. The rule of political talents
   Exceptions were given in the reading--ask students if they can recall them or others.
   b. The rule of governors
   Could you tell us another reason why the state governors have more power today compared to the time when the states were first established?
   c. The rule of the big swing states
   What is a swing state? Name some. Explain the way in which the electoral college works to make the significance of the swing states clear.
   d. The rule of Northern monopoly
   Let students identify presidents that were from other than Northern states. Why could they win? (Truman, Ike, Johnson, if elected)
   e. The rule of multiple interests
      1. Why must the Presidential candidate appeal to so many voters?
      2. How does the selection of the Vice President fit into this picture?

f. The rule of happy family life
   1. Do you feel that Rockefeller would have had a better chance if he would not have been divorced?
   2. Do you think that President Johnson is aware of this fact?
g. The rule of small towns
   1. Why is this rule so important?
   2. Was President Kennedy representing small towns?
h. The rule of English stock
   What is meant by English stock?
i. The rule of Protestantism
   Are a majority of Americans Protestant?

4. Which rules most clearly reflect the value system of Americans?
5. Which most clearly reflect the nature of our political system?
6. How many of these nine rules would probably apply to the mayor of Pittsburgh? Why would so few apply?
7. The author suggested that three rules are no longer so important as they once were. These rules he called happy family life, small town origins, and the Protestant faith. Why are they becoming less important as tests for a presidential candidate?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, Chapter 17 analyzes the roles of the president and dramatizes by implication that the "nine tests" for a candidate have little relationship to the job a president has to perform. James Bryce, "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen President" in Bishop and Hendel, BASIC ISSUES, 297-301.

1. The Rule of Political Talent

2. The Rule of Governors

3. The Rule of the Big Swing States

4. The Rule of Northern Monopoly

5. The Rule of Multiple Interests

6. The Rule of Happy Family Life

7. The Rule of the Small Town

8. The Rule of English Stock

9. The Rule of Protestantism

A CASE STUDY IN LOCAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. political decision-makers on the state and local level vary in social background and formal educational level from national leaders.
2. the social background and personal characteristics necessary for success in one local area might not bring success in another.
3. we cannot generalize safely from a single case study.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

1. transparency

Procedures:

1. Give the examination. Allow 15 minutes for the exam and require students to observe time limits.
2. Put the transparency on the projector. Show students how Pittsburgh's government is organized formally. Ask them if any informal lines of power from one box on the chart to another might make the actual situation clearer. Draw line from Mayor to Council to indicate Lawrence's control of Council. Add the Mellon family in a box in one corner and draw lines of influence to the Mayor and the Council.
3. In showing the Mayor's control of the Council, comment on the Strong Mayor-Council type of government. Pittsburgh's Mayor appoints the heads of agencies and authorities, This system is opposed to the weak Mayor-Council type of government. (Teacher reading--Pittsburgh Government, League of Women Voters of Pittsburgh. 1961. P. 11.)
4. In Reading 6 you studied four types of American political leaders. Which type, or types, is Lawrence?
5. Describe the social background of Mr. Lawrence. Is his social background similar to that of the national leaders you studied yesterday?
6. Make a list of adjectives which describe Lawrence's personal characteristics. How is this list similar to the characteristics of the leaders of Stoerpenberg Camp?
7. Do you think Lawrence's background and personal characteristics would be useful politically in a mid-western farm community? Why? In another large city such as Pittsburgh? Why?
8. Which is the most reliable source of information about political leaders:
   A set of tables such as you saw in Reading 9
   A scholarly article such as the 9 Tests of a Presidential Hopeful
   A case study such as Stoerpenberg Camp
   A real biography
   (Lead students to the conclusion that their answer depends on the purpose for which the information will be used. No one type is best for all purposes.)

Teacher's reading:

Editors of Fortune, "New Strength in City Hall," Lefever and Hohenstein. PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, 336-342.

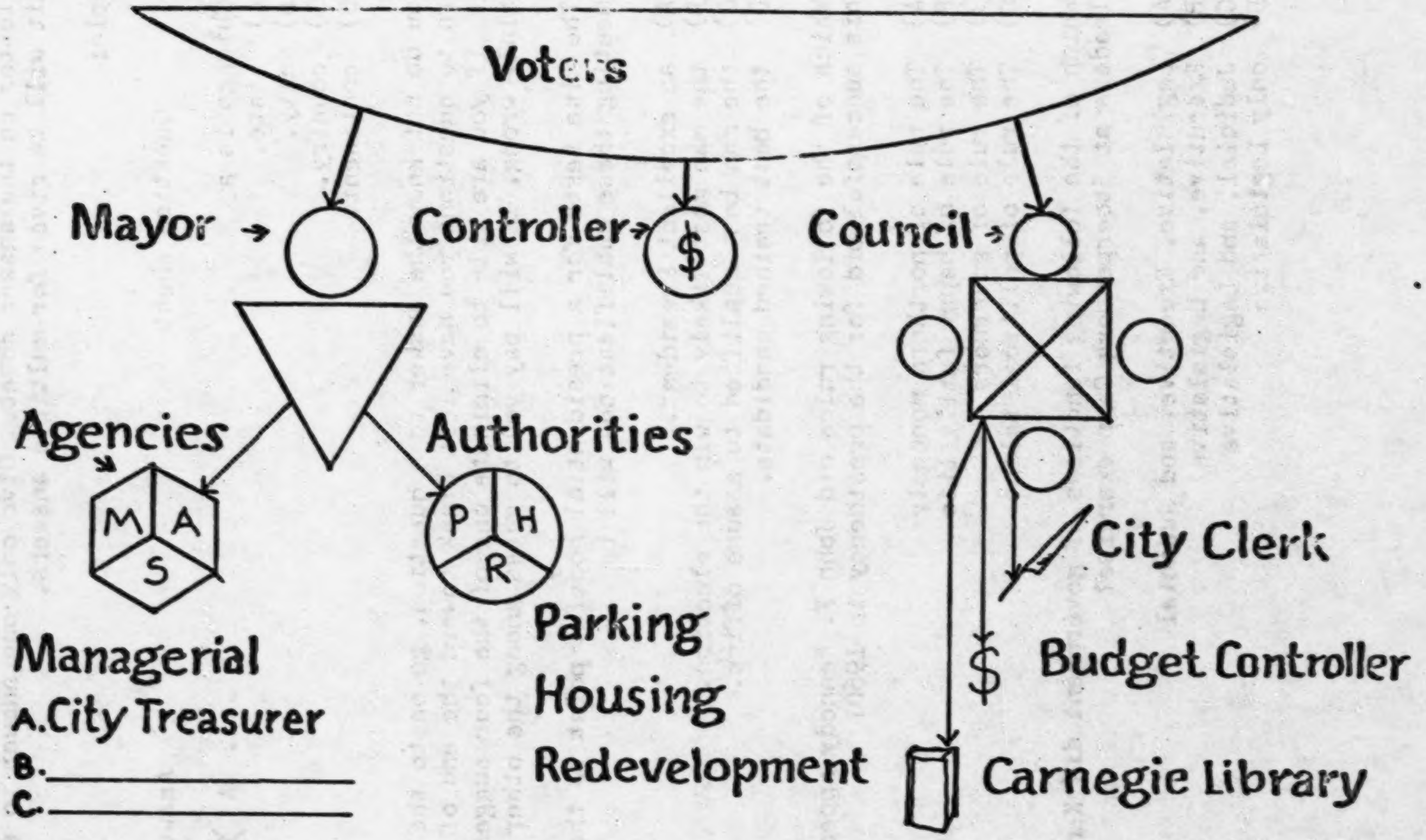
Edward J. Flynn, "Personal Reflections on Bosses and Machines," in Scott and Wallace, POLITICS U.S.A., 502-512.

Warren Moscow, "Exit the Boss; Enter the Leader," Morlan, CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, 286-288.

Stephen K. Bailey, "Leadership in Local Government," IBID, 344-348.

Also see six articles in Powell, DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, 387-438.

City of Pittsburgh Organization


Voters
Mayor
Controller
$
Council
Agencies
M
A
S
Authorities
P
H
R
Parking
Housing
Redevelopment
City Clerk
$
Budget Controller
Carnegie Library

Managerial

A. City Treasurer

B. ______________

C. ______________

Advisory

A. Dept. of Law

B ______________

C. ______________

Service

A. Dept. of Public Safety

B. ______________

C. ______________

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS
FIRST OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

READINGS 1-11

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last about fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question sheet	Answer sheet
1. Chicago is a A) state. B) city. C) country. D) continent.	1. A X C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one and then return to questions you have left blank toward the end of the examination time. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

1. The nine tests for a presidential hopeful point to the fact that any man meeting these qualifications will be

   A) an excellent President.
   [✓ B)] the man most likely to win the election.
   C) the man best qualified to assume office.
   D) the best trained candidate.

2. Which of the following rules did John F. Kennedy appear to violate in his successful bid for the presidency in 1960?

   A) The rule of northern monopoly
   B) The rule of happy family life
   [✓ C)] The rule of governors
   D) The rule of political talent

3. Which of the following functions of government did Kent and the table leaders at Stoerpenberg Camp exercise?

   [✓ A)] Legislative, Executive, and Judicial
   B) Executive, and Legislative
   C) Judicial, and Legislative
   D) only Legislative

4. Which of the following famous American quotations best parallels the attitude displayed by Datkas the Tlingit Warrior?

   A) "Don't shoot 'til you see the whites of their eyes."
   [✓ B)] "I regret I have but one life to give to my country."
   C) "Old soldiers never die. They simply fade away."
   D) "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!"

5. As a political leader, Kent resembled the President of the United States in which of the following ways?

   A) He could exercise unlimited power.
   [✓ B)] He could help initiate legislation.
   C) He was a leader limited by "a constitution."
   D) He was judge as well as law enforcer.

6. Over which one of the following political leaders do the people have the greatest measure of control?

   [✓ A)] Elected office holders
   B) Professional party organizers
   C) Appointed political bureaucrats
   D) Non-professional politicians

7. In which of the following societies did citizens exercise the most direct influence on government?

   A) Contemporary American society
   B) Comanche society
   [✓ C)] Stoerpenberg Camp
   D) Cheyenne society

8. The professional politician can find full employment most readily in

   [✓ A)] a complex society.
   B) a prison camp.
   C) a simple, well-ordered society.
   D) an Indian tribe.

9. Which one of the following men could be classified as an appointed political bureaucrat?

   A) President Lyndon B. Johnson
   B) Senator Barry Goldwater
   [✓ C)] Ambassador Maxwell Taylor
   D) Governor William Scranton

Questions 10-13 refer to the following list. WARNING: Some answers may be used more than once and others may not be used at all.

A) Elected officeholders
B) Professional party organizers
C) Appointed political bureaucrats
D) Non-professional political leaders

10. "As an Ambassador of my country, I have travelled throughout the world." C

11. "Yes, gentlemen, prior to my taking this job I gave up all of my holdings of General Motors stock." D

12. "My friends, and I do mean my friends, I promise you full employment for the workingman, and a fair price for the farmer." A

13. "I don't care if his name is Paul Anka, can he get the adult vote?" B

Questions 14-17 refer to the following list. WARNING: Some answers may be used more than once and others may not be used at all.

A) Kent
B) Comanche War Chief
C) Comanche Peace Chief
D) Tribal Witch Doctor

14. "My courage gives me dictatorial powers." B

15. "I had to campaign actively for my role as leader." A

16. "I possess the power of life or death; my people blindly heed my advice." D

17. "I sought no power, by action or campaign, but soon leadership was mine." C

18. Which of the follwing answers best explains why most of our political leaders at the national level come from higher-than-average income and social groups?

A) Wealthy men are generally better leaders than poor men.
B) Wealthy men are more honest than poor men.
C) Wealthy men are more unscrupulous than poor men.
D) Wealthy men often have more time and money to devote to politics than poor men.

Questions 19-22 apply to the following chart.

Origins of Foreign-Born and Second-Generation Senators and Representatives, 81st Congress (1949-1951)
(In Percentages)

Region	Foreign-Born			Second-Generation		
	Sen.	Rep.	Pop. (1940)	Sen.	Rep.	Pop. (1940)
Northwestern Europe	0	50	23	75	53	29
Central Europe	50	33	31	19	30	34
Eastern Europe	0	0	13	0	1	9
Southern Europe	0	0	17	6	10	14
Other Europe	0	0	**	0	0	1
Asia	0	0	1	0	1	1
America	50	17	13	0	5	11
All Other	0	0	1	0	0	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(n=2)	(n=6)		(n=16)	(n=88)	

**Less than .5%

19. About how many more second generation Representatives served in the House of Representatives between 1949 and 1951 than second generation Senators?

    A) about twice as many
    [✓ B)] about five times as many
    C) about half as many
    D) about ten times as many

20. The number of foreign-born Senators in the period 1949-1951 was

    A) 6.
    B) 100.
    C) 50.
    [✓ D)] 2.

21. Judging from these statistics, we can conclude that

    A) the place of birth has little or no influence on success in national politics.
    B) it is an advantage in national politics to be born in Central Europe.
    C) native born people win a higher percentage of Senate seats than they should according to their percentage of the population.
    [✓ D)] second-generation Americans have a better chance in national politics than do foreign born.

22. The area from which the largest number of foreign born and second generation senators and representatives came was

[✓ A) Northwestern Europe.]
B) Central Europe.
C) America.
D) Southern Europe.

Questions 23 to 25 refer to the following.

I. Headman
II. Mayor Lawrence
III. Hereditary Monarch
IV. Sacred Chief

23. A highly complex urban society could least use the services of:

A) I & II B) II & III [✓ C) I & IV] D) IV & II

24. Which of these leaders have gained their position by some form of popular selection?

[✓ A) I & II] B) II & III C) III & IV D) I & III

25. "Why speak of ability or popularity? These qualifications mean nothing in our society. Our leader must possess the right to rule." This speaker would recognize only one leader. That leader would be:

A) I B) II [✓ C) III] D) IV

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. imperial Russia in the 18th-19th centuries was ruled in an autocratic manner. The Czar was paternalistic, and won personal loyalty from his subjects through his role as the "little father".
2. the bureaucratic structure which implemented this autocratic rule was composed of higher decision-makers who were trusted confidents of the Czar, and of lower officials such as clerical workers who were not as important as decision-makers.
3. no formal professional training was given either group. The higher officials, selected arbitrarily or inheriting their role, had various educational backgrounds. Lower officials were selected largely from clergy and impoverished gentry, and had little formal education.
4. Higher officials were differentiated and specialized.

Skill Objectives:

Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. What is the meaning of the word "autocracy"? What qualifications were necessary to be the top decision-maker in imperial Russia? (to be born into the Romanov family) How was this type of autocratic rule justified? (God's will)
2. Since Russia was such a large land, how was the Czar's will carried out? (bureaucrats) What do we mean by the word "bureaucracy"?
3. Describe the background of the higher and lower officials. How were they trained? Was the bureaucratic group specialized? differentiated? What social groups were most represented by political leaders in imperial Russia?
4. Which of the four classes of American political leaders were found in imperial Russia?
5. Russia was predominantly an agrarian society in the 18th and 19th centuries, and therefore most of the subjects were peasantsfarmers. Do you think that a period of rapid industrialization would change the type of political leadership?
6. Students should summarize discussion

Teachers reading:

Plano, Greenberg AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, p. 175
(for concise definition of bureaucracy)
Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, Chapter I
Articles in Rieber and Nelson, USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 50-111.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. there is a difference between the political leaders of the 18th-19th century Russia and the leaders in the Soviet Union today.
2. the USSR has an active program for the training and recruitment of political leaders.
3. Soviet leaders are selected from Communist Party members.
4. advancement through the political ranks depends upon technical skill in a field, hard work, and personal ties to people higher in the Party ranks.

Skill Objectives:

Translation 2.10
Application 3.00

Materials:
One transparency

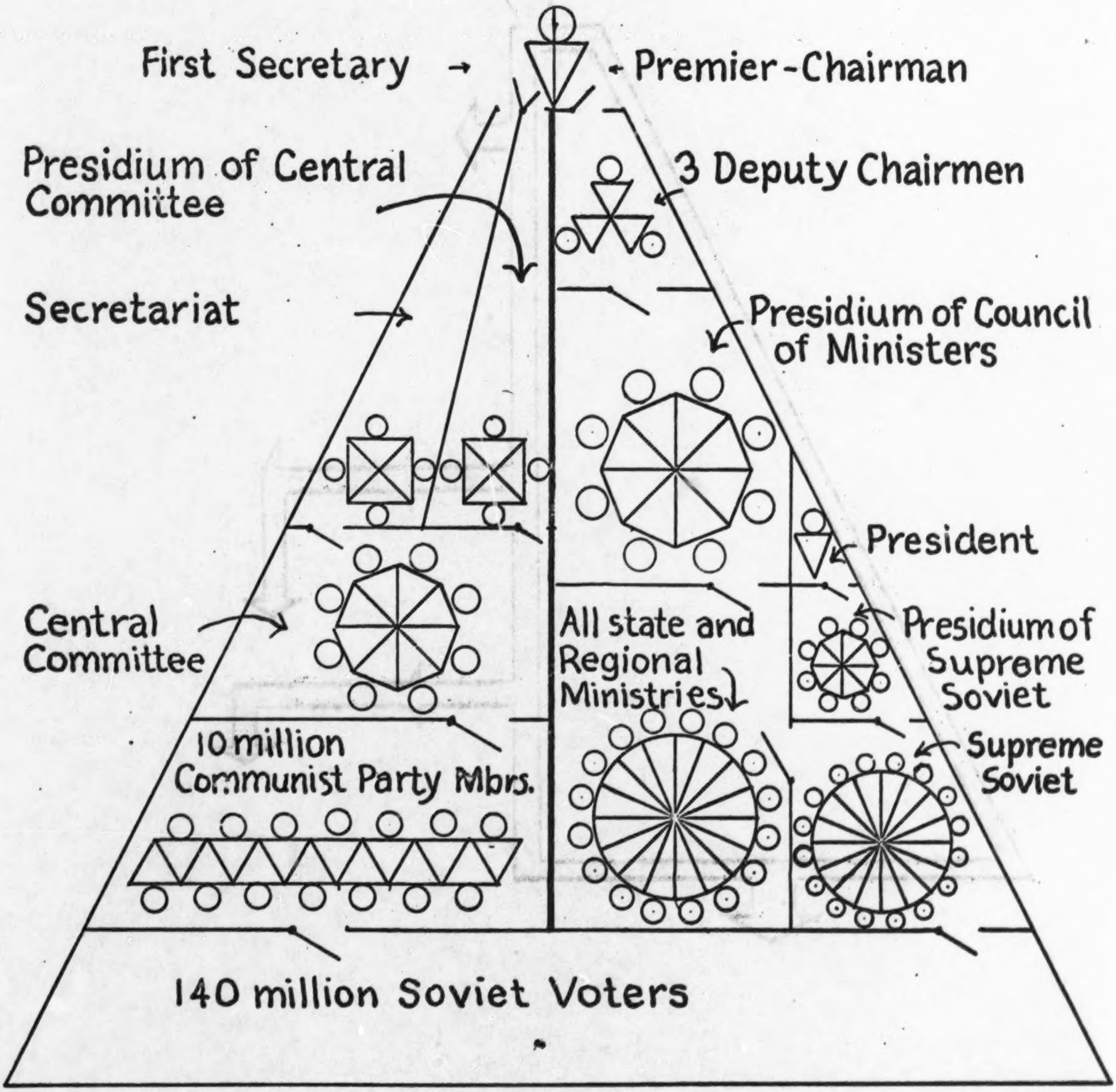
Procedures:

1. Show the transparency indicating the organization of the Party and of the formal government. Show where the Raion and the Oblast fit into the structure of the Party. Describe the way in which the Party really dominates political decision-making to explain why we are studying the recruitment and training of Party members rather than members of the formal governmental institutions.
2. Why did the new communist government of 1917 kill the Czar and many of the nobility and at the same time retain the lower level administrators? What was the difference between the two levels of administrators?
3. Let's assume that Teplov's case is typical. How are leaders recruited in the Soviet Union? What should a person do if he wants to become a political leader in the Soviet Union?
4. How were imperialist officers trained and recruited?
5. What sort of training do Party officials go through? Is there a similar organized program in the United States?
6. What personal characteristics of Teplov brought him promotions? What was his attitude toward Communist ideology as compared to his attitude toward getting the work done?
7. Why was Teplov worried about whose picture he ought to display? What does this show about the importance of personal ties in the Soviet political system? Are personal ties as important in the United States?
8. We have said that 4 specialized types of political leaders had emerged in the U.S. What were they? (elected official, appointed bureaucrat, experts, professional party organizer) On the basis of today's lesson, can you say that these 4 types are in evidence in Russia today?

Teacher's reading:

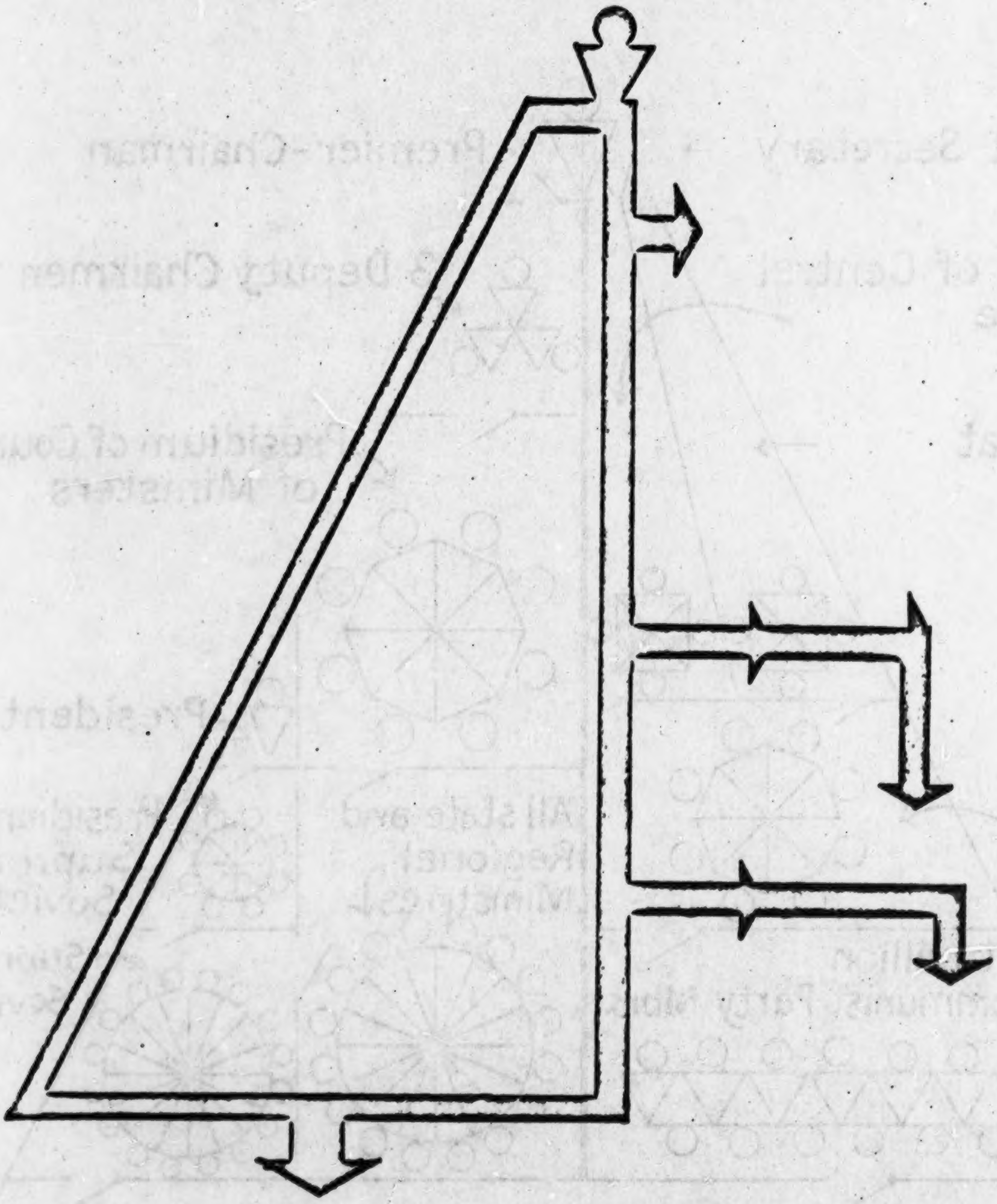
Fainsod, pp. 246-282.
Frederich C. Barghoorn, "Portrait of Joseph Stalin" in Rieber and Nelson, THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, 165-168.

Theoretically the Soviet Government is run this way.


First Secretary
Premier-Chairman
Presidium of Central Committee
3 Deputy Chairmen
Secretariat
Presidium of Council of Ministers
President
Central Committee
All state and Regional Ministries
Presidium of Supreme Soviet
10 million Communist Party Mbrs.
Supreme Soviet
140 million Soviet Voters

1 - overlay

But actually it is controlled like this.



CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. Communist Party officials are a privileged class in the Soviet Union.
2. Party leadership carries risks with its privileged, risks such as possible demotion for failure or for backing the wrong man.
3. Soviet leaders are characterized by hard work, bureaucratic skill, ambition, intelligence and loyalty to the regime.
4. personal ties and personal loyalty are probably more important to promotion than talent alone.

Skill Objectives:

Application 3.00
Synthesis 5.00

Procedures:

1. Teacher should take notes on overhead projector during class as points are raised.
2. What advantages did Teplov and his family receive because of his Party position? How were his children treated? Describe the material advantages he enjoyed.
3. What were some of the disadvantages of his position? How hard did he have to work? What did he have to worry about? Does an American politician face these same problems?
4. Let's make a list of adjectives which describe Teplov's personal characteristics. Does he differ from the ordinary Russian citizen? How many of these same adjectives would describe typical American politicians, such as Mayor Lawrence?
5. What single factor seems to be most important for promotion in the Soviet system?

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. Soviet political leaders differ from the Soviet population as a whole. Members of the Communist Party are drawn primarily from the majority "Great Russian" element of the population and are usually professional Party members or career officials in government.
2. although workers and peasants are heavily represented in the C.P.S.U., the C.P.S.U. draws upon the intelligentsia and technicians to secure the best trained and educated people for its leadership.
3. there is differentiation of political leadership in the S.U. similar to that in the United States.

Skill Objectives:

Production of a unique communication 5.10
translation 2.10
extrapolation 2.30

Materials:

5 transparencies

Procedures:

1. Allow students 20 minutes to write the essay exam.
2. Place each of the five transparencies on the projector in order. Before using the questions printed under the tables for interpretation, ask students specific questions about the tables. Pay particular attention to the accurate use of tables in order to develop skills in this technique. Examples of specific questions appear below.

TABLE I
What is the difference between columns 5 and 6 since both show percentages of party members?

TABLE II
What is the meaning of the "N" under USSR and USA? Add up the percentage figures in USSR and USA for the headings titled total politics and government, total commerce and industry, and total other occupations. This should show students that other headings are merely subdivisions of those three.

TABLE IV
How many members of the party presidium under Stalin were counted in this table? Under Khrushchev? Point out that bracketed titles and numbers give supplementary information about the general headings under which they appear. (i.e., state bureaucracy made up 33 per cent of the membership of the Presidium under Stalin. Industrial members composed 20 percent of this state bureaucracy; not 20 per cent of the membership of the Presidium.

TABLE V
What does the column titled Ratio mean?

3. As each table is covered ask students to draw conclusions on the basis of the information. Students should copy these statements--Teacher could list them on board or projector. Following are some of the general conclusions that might be given.

   TABLE I
   Workers and intelligentsia make up largest percentage of party membership but there are proportionally more party members among organization heads and in the engineering and technical fields. These occupations seem most important for the party to control.

   TABLE II
   The Great Russians dominated Soviet political leadership.

   TAB TABLE III
   Most of Soviet decision-makers are professional party organizers or career officials in government. The majority of American decision-makers are. Leadership in U.S. and S.U. is differentiated.

   TABLE IV
   The C.P.S.U. is allotting more top political power to its professional party members. Top party members are drawn mainly from the higher educated technical, scientific, economic and Marxist-Leninist experts.

   TABLE V
   The C.P.S.U. members are better educated than the Russian population as a whole.

4. Describe a typical political decision-maker in the Soviet Union today (Great Russian, Party Member, career man in government or professional party organizer, technician or intellectual).
5. Are the Soviet leaders representative of the Russian people as a whole? Do they represent the "Best People" in Soviet Union?
6. Compare typical Russian and American political decision-makers. Use notes from Reading 14 for comparison. What are the similarities? Are there any differences? Which of the four types of American political decision-makers would you find in Russia?

15-1

SOCIAL STATUS & CPSU MEMBERSHIP 1961

ADULTS	% OF EMP'D BY OCC	% OF PARTY BY OCC
Gainfully employed in national economy	100.0	100.0
Workers	47,3	34,5
Peasants	32,0	17,5
Employees (mental workers, intelligentsia)	20.7	48.0
Heads of various organizations and institutions	1.3	4.9
Engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, architects, economists	4.7	14.0
Personnel in science, education, public health, literature and art	5.1	10.3

NAT ORIGIN & ACCESS TO POL LEADERSHIP IN USSR

1962	POPULATION		CPSU		PRESID & SEC, 1962	
	Num. (mil)	% of tot.	Mem. (th)	% of tot.	Mem.	% of tot.
Russians	114,6	54,6	6100	63,5	12	75.
Ukranians	37,0	17,8	1400	14,6	2	12.5
Byelorussians	7,8	3,8	287	3.0	0	0
Uzbeks	6,0	2,9	143	1.5	0	0
Tatars	5,0	2.4	No data		0	0
Kazakhs	3,6	1,7	149	1.5	0	0
Azerbaijanis	2,9	1,4	106	1,1	0	0.
Armenians	2,8	1.3	161	1,7	1	6.3
Georgians	2,7	1,3	170	1,8	0	0
Lithuanians	2,3	1,1	43	.4	0	0
Jews	2,3	1,1	No data		0	0
Moldavians	2,2	1,1	27	,3	0	0
Latvians	1,4	,7	34	.35	0	0.
Finns	0.1	.05	No data		1	6.3

15-2

	USSR 1961 N-175	USA 1958 N-100
Total politics & government	61.7%	37.0%
Politics (party b'cracy: USSR; electoral pol: USA)	37.7	19.0
Private career & politics	----	8.0
Politics & gov't b'cracy	24.0	1.0
Pvt career & gov't b'cracy	----	9.0
Total commerce & industry	18.8	40.0
Total other occupations	19.5	23.0
Military	8.2	7.0
Journ, mass media, writing	3.4	4.0
Education & sciences	1.7	4.0
Labor organizations	1.7	3.0
Law	.6	3.0
Diplomacy	1.7	---
Religion	---	1.0
Farming	1.1	1.0
Factory worker	1.1	---
Total	100.0	100.0

15-3

			BULGAN-	
	STALIN	MALEN	KHRUSH	KHRUSH
	1949	1953	1956	1962
	N-15	N-18	N-21	N-21
Party apparat	54%	61%	67%	81%
(Ideologue)	(7)	(11)	(14)	(20)
State bureaucracy	33	28	23	19
(Industrial)	(20)	(17)	(14)	(5)
Police & Military	13	11	9	--
	Educational Background			
Higher	40	56	71	76
(Tech-Sci Inst)	(33)	(45)	(53)	(52)
(Econ, Marxism-Leninism, Human)	(6)	(11)	(18)	(24)
Incomplete higher & secondary)	34	21	14	19
(Seminary)	(13)	(5)	(5)	(5)
(Technical)	(13)	(11)	(5)	(10)
Primary	13	11	5	5
Less	13	11	9	--

EDUCATION AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP: SOVIET UNION

	USSR POP. (1959) In millions	CPSU MEM. (1961) In millions	RATIO %
Complete higher education	3.8	1.3	34.2
Incomplete higher and secondary	10,6	2,9	27.4
Specialized secondary	7,9	1.8	23.0
Incomplete secondary	35.4	2.8	8,2
Primary or less	151.1	.8	.5
Total	208.8	9.6	4.6

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS
ESSAY EXAMINATION II

READINGS 8-15

This is an essay examination and will last twenty minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both; if you do, your teacher will grade only the first. Follow the directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you write.

1. Assume that you want to be an elected political leader on the national level. In one paragraph, describe what you ought to do during the next thirty years to get yourself ready to win nomination for and election to such a position.

   In a second paragraph, indicate whether or not you might choose different things to do if you wanted to win an elected position on the state level or to be appointed to political office in the federal government.

   Be sure to think about the qualifications and characteristics of the political leaders we have read about as you develop your outline.

2. "Since all complex industrial societies face similar problems, specialized leaders in the United States will have essentially the same qualities and characteristics as their counterparts in the Soviet Union."

   In a paragraph or two, attack or defend this statement using as evidence what you have learned about the characteristics of Soviet and American leaders.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Subject Objectives: To know that:

1. the United States has a two party political system.
2. political parties in the United States serve a number of vital political functions, including the nomination of candidates, the mobilization of support for candidates, the identification and definition of issues, the responsible criticism of the party in power, the reduction of conflict within our society, and the process of identification of a voter with his party as a symbol of political integrity.
3. political leaders use and need the party as a vehicle for gaining and maintaining political support.
4. political parties may affect the role which leaders play in parties.

Skill Objectives:

1. Synthesis 5.00
2. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

One transparency

Procedures:

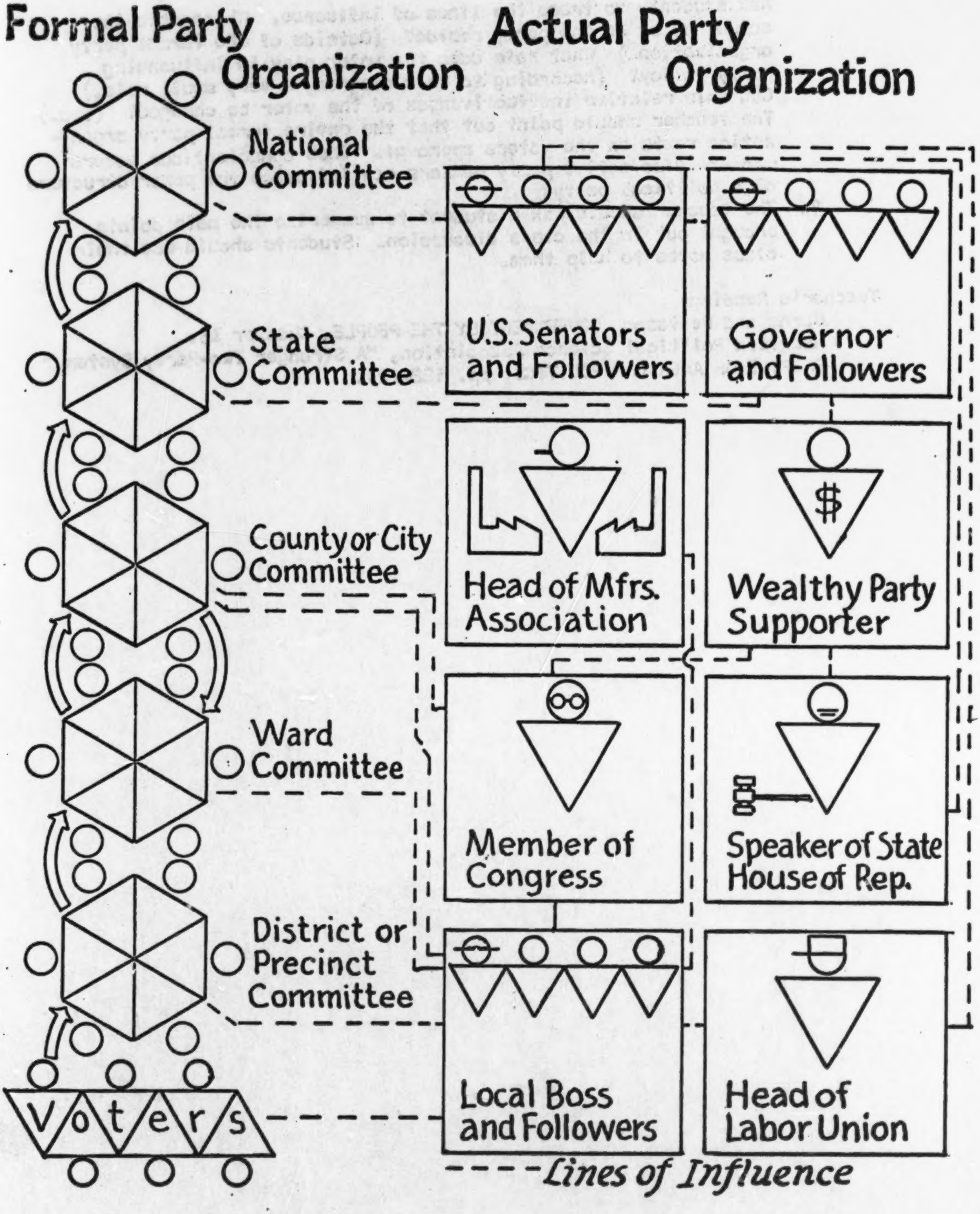
1. Using the transparency show only the Formal Party Organization. Mask the other side. Ask students to describe the Formal Organization of a Political Party.
2. Why do you think that the United States has a two party system? What has been the traditional role of third parties? (To introduce new ideas.)
3. What is the basic purpose of political parties?
4. What are some of the functions that political parties perform as they strive for power? List them (see question 5) as students describe them. Notes should be taken on the overhead projector to assist students in taking notes in class.
5. How do the political functions of the party serve the needs of political leaders?
   - A. Nominating a candidate brings him to the attention of the public.
   - B. Mobilization of support means ringing doorbells in his behalf.
   - C. Providing campaign funds and organizing speakers benefit the candidate.
   - D. Identification and Definition of Issues can provide a common ground for political support from different elements within the party.
   - E. Responsible Criticism of the party in power forces political leaders in office to deveócp policies that are most immune to criticism and thus acceptable to more people.
   - F. The party's image can add stature and dignity to a candidate.
6. We've seen how political parties can provide support or affect political leaders. Let's investigate the working of an actual party organization. Using the same transparency, uncover the portion that had been formerly masked.

Ask students to trace the lines of influence. Where does the actual power of the party reside? (Outside of the formal party organization.) What role does the voter play in influencing party policy? (According to this diagram, a very small role.) Can this relative ineffectiveness of the voter be changed? (Yes.) The teacher should point out that the entire formal party organization rests on the voters approval. Thus conscientious voters who are also active party members can influence the power structure of a political party.

7. The teacher should ask a student to summarize the main points brought out in the class discussion. Students should use their class notes to help them.

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 13.
American Political Science Association, "A Stronger Two-Party System," PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 122-123.


Formal Party Organization
Actual Party Organization
National Committee
State Committee
County or City Committee
Ward Committee
District or Precinct Committee
Voters
U.S. Senators and Followers
Governor and Followers
Head of Mfrs. Association
Wealthy Party Supporter
$
Member of Congress
Speaker of State House of Rep.
Local Boss and Followers
Head of Labor Union
Lines of Influence

THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS

Subject Objectives: To know that:

1. Americans tend to join with others to form "Interest Groups."
2. the United States is a nation embracing many such groups.
3. seldom if ever is one group able to achieve all its goals.
4. American politicians appeal to individual interests as well as collective interests in order to be elected.
5. The strength of the American political system has been its ability to harmonize the conflicting interests of these groups and reach a consensus.

Skill Objectives:

1. Analysis of elements 4.10
2. Synthesis 5.00
3. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

Tape
One Transparency

Procedures:

1. Today's lesson is intended to show how interest groups provide support for political leaders. Do not cover the methods used by interest groups to influence government or individuals (pressure and propaganda). This is picked up in Reading 59.
2. Pass out the class handout for this day. Explain to the students that you are beginning the class hour with a tape and handouts contain questions that will assist them in understanding the tape. The purpose of the tape is to reveal the various ways politicians appeal to interest groups in order to win an election. Students should take note on the types of appeals used by the speakers.
   Directions for Suggested Use of Tape:
   A. The tape is divided into four sections. After each section, stop the tape and discuss the speaker's appeal. The teacher may use the questions on the student handout or the following questions.
   B. After listening to the arguments of Truman and Dewey, stop the tape and ask the students to what group these men were appealing. (Labor)
   C. Listen to testimony of Joe Lewis and ask the same question. (An important minority group--Negroes.) Be sure to identify Joe Lewis.
   D. Listen to the Fala and Checkers speeches add ask students what appeal was being made here. (The Fala appeal belittles For's opponents; the Checkers appeal pictures a happy family life) Does anyone remember what happened to President Johnson when he pulled the ears of his beagles?
   E. How did Roosevelt appeal to the people in his 3rd acceptance speech? (He appeared the reluctant candidate answering the call of the people. Ask students to list some of the "attractive words" and phrases of Roosevelt's appeal.)
   (Danger of our times freemen-obligation of service to republic; American method of free election.)

3. Try to draw from the students a definition of "Interest Groups". To what groups do you belong? To what groups do your parents belong? Are these primarily political groups? Do they sometimes use political means in order to achieve their objectives? (example: A church group may actively campaign for anti-gambling or prohibition laws.)
4. What determines the strength of an interest group?
5. How do politicians use interest groups to gain political support?
6. Place the transparency on the projector. Explain that the CIO-PAC is now the AFL-CIO, COPE (Committee on Political Education). What does this transparency show about the methods employed by interest groups to gain their ends?
   (The transparency shows a ballot with the "correct" names checked. Here the interest group is attempting to influence the votes of its members.)
   Teacher should draw attention to the note appearing at the bottom of the ballot: "clip and spread". What does this mean? (Obviously the interest group wanted this ballot taken from the paper and passed to other people, preferably to people who were not members of the interest group.)
7. Have students summarize the lesson from their class notes. Ask for general conclusions. These should coincide with the stated subject objectives of the day.

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 12.
Bruner, Dick, "Labor Should Get Out of Politics" in POLITICS, U.S.A., pp. 273-281.
Plano and Greenberg, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, p. 93.
Mazo, Earl, "The $18,000 Question " (Nixon TV Address) in POLITICS, U.S.A., pp. 255-258.

SCRIPT OF TAPE: INTEREST GROUPS

NARRATOR: Political leaders in the United States gain and maintain support in a variety of ways. Many of these techniques have been or will be mentioned in class discussion. The tape to which you are now listening will dramatize several of the types of appeals for support made by American politicians. Your job will be to determine the appeal being used and to react to several questions about it. The appeals you will hear will fall into two broad categories: those directed to a particular interest group such as a racial minority and those directed to the masses of the population and based upon an appeal to a well-known attitude held by a large number of citizens.

The first selection you will hear is taken from the speeches of the presidential candidates of 1948, the Republican, Thomas E. Dewey and the incumbent, Harry S. Truman. Try to determine the group toward which these sentiments are directed, then decide which of the two speakers had the more effective appeal. The first voice which you will hear is that of Thomas E. Dewey. From this point on, the voices will alternate.

DEWEY: "The next administration is going to go forward to make more adequate provisions against the hazards of old age and unemployment."

TRUMAN: "He said in this campaign that he is for a minimum wage, and I think the smaller the minimum the better it suits him."

DEWEY: "These mis-named Democrats who pretend to be labor's friend ask for power to put labor in chains and that's the reason they ought to be thrown out of office."

TRUMAN: "When the Republican candidate finished telling you here in Pittsburgh, how labor had suffered under my administration, he told you he had come to the rescue of labor. How do you suppose they did it? They did it with the Taft Hartley law, that's how they came to the rescue of labor."

NARRATOR: During the 1940 presidential election involving President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his Republican opponent Wendell Wilkie, a famous sports figure of the time, heavyweight champion Joe Louis, volunteered to voice his public approval of Mr. Wilkie's candidacy. As you listen to Joe Louis, ask yourself the purpose of his statement. Of what political significance is the political opinion of a boxer? What appeal is being used here?

INTERVIEWER: "Joe, why are you going to vote for Wendell Wilkie?"

JOE LOUIS: "I'm voting for Mr. Wilkie because I think he's going to be good for my people."

NARRATOR: In American political campaigns nearly any subject can become a controversial issue, especially if it carries a mass appeal. You will now hear selections from two speeches which deal in part with the subject of dogs, a most unlikely subject even for an American political campaign. Nevertheless, these speeches have left such a mark on American political history that they are now commonly referred to as the "Fala Speech" and the "Checkers Speech," after the names of the dogs discussed. The Fala speech, which you will hear first, was made in Franklin Roosevelt's campaign of 1944, after several Republicans had made unkind remarks about FDR's dog Fala. The second speech, the so-called Checkers speech, was made by Richard Nixon in his 1952 campaign for the Vice Presidency. Mr. Nixon had been accused of taking large campaign contributions from a California business executive. So serious were these charges that Nixon went on television to defend himself. During the course of his speech Nixon admitted having received a cocker spaniel puppy as a gift from an admirer and stated dramatically that he intended to keep it. As you listen, try to identify the motive and the appeal behind each speech. As you do so, think about our lesson on the personal attributes of United States political leaders. This may help you to understand the significance of all this fuss about dogs.

FDR: "These Republicans have not been content with attacks on me, on my wife, or on my son. Now, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala. Well of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family don't resent attacks, but Fala does resent attacks."

NARRATOR: And now listen to Mr. Nixon and his Checkers speech.

NIXON: "A man down in Texas heard Pat on the radio mention the fact that our two youngsters would like to have a dog, and believe it or not, the day before we left on this campaign trip, we got a message from Union Station in Baltimore saying they had a package for us. You know what it was? It was a little cocker spaniel dog in a crate that he had sent all the way from Texas--black and white, spotted--and I just want to say this right now that regardless of what they say about it, we're going to keep it."

NARRATOR: The final selection is an excerpt from a speech by Franklin Delano Roosevelt given in 1940. In this speech, Roosevelt accepted his party's presidential nomination for the third time. Does Roosevelt seem to be seeking political support in this speech, or trying to avoid it? Do you think Roosevelt wanted to be reelected in 1940? If so, then why does he seem so hesitant?

FDR: "In the face of the danger which confronts our times, no individual retains or can hope to retain the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom -- a first obligation to serve his country in what-ever capacity his country finds him useful. Like most men of my age, I have made plans for myself -- plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction -- a life of that kind to begin in January 1941. These plans like so many other plans have been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives, have been in a sense repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger, all those who can be of service to the republic have no choice but to offer themselves to service in those capacities for which they may be fitted. Those, my friends, are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to say to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service. The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a president. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say to you in the utmost simplicity I will with God's help continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullest of my strength."

POLITICAL APPEALS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

In class today we will listen to a taped recording of speeches made by famous people. Some of these persons were political leaders and some gained their fame in non-political fields. All of these speeches, however, are pleas for political support. Your problem will be to identify the plea and to determine to what group the plea is being made.

After each appeal your teacher will stop the tape in order that the appeal may be discussed. Remember that we are interested in determining how political leaders gain support by appealing to different groups.

Below are the questions you should try to answer as you listen to each appeal.

Truman-Dewey Speeches:

1. To what group are both these men directing their remarks? How sincere do these men sound?

Joe Louis Statement:

1. Who was Joe Louis? To what minority is Joe addressing his plea?

Fala and Checkers Speeches:

1. Why should these men talk about their dogs?
2. How did Roosevelt portray his opponent? What reaction was Nixon seeking in response to his "Checkers" story? Were FDR and Nixon appealing only to dog lovers?

Roosevelt Speech:

1. Do you think President Roosevelt was really reluctant to run for re-election? Is he appealing to a specific group or to widely held attitudes?

THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. elections seeve four important functions in the United States: they decide who will govern, they provide an opportunity for each citizen to participate in the governing process, they present genuine alternatives to the voters, and they make the choices of the voters binding on the government.
2. elections represent the voters' acceptance or rejection of political candidates and their platforms.
3. In the United States the phrase "Government by the people" really means government by political leaders responsive to the wishes of an enlightened electorate.
4. elections, by registering voter approval, give political leaders the right to make political decisions.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Material:

One Transparency

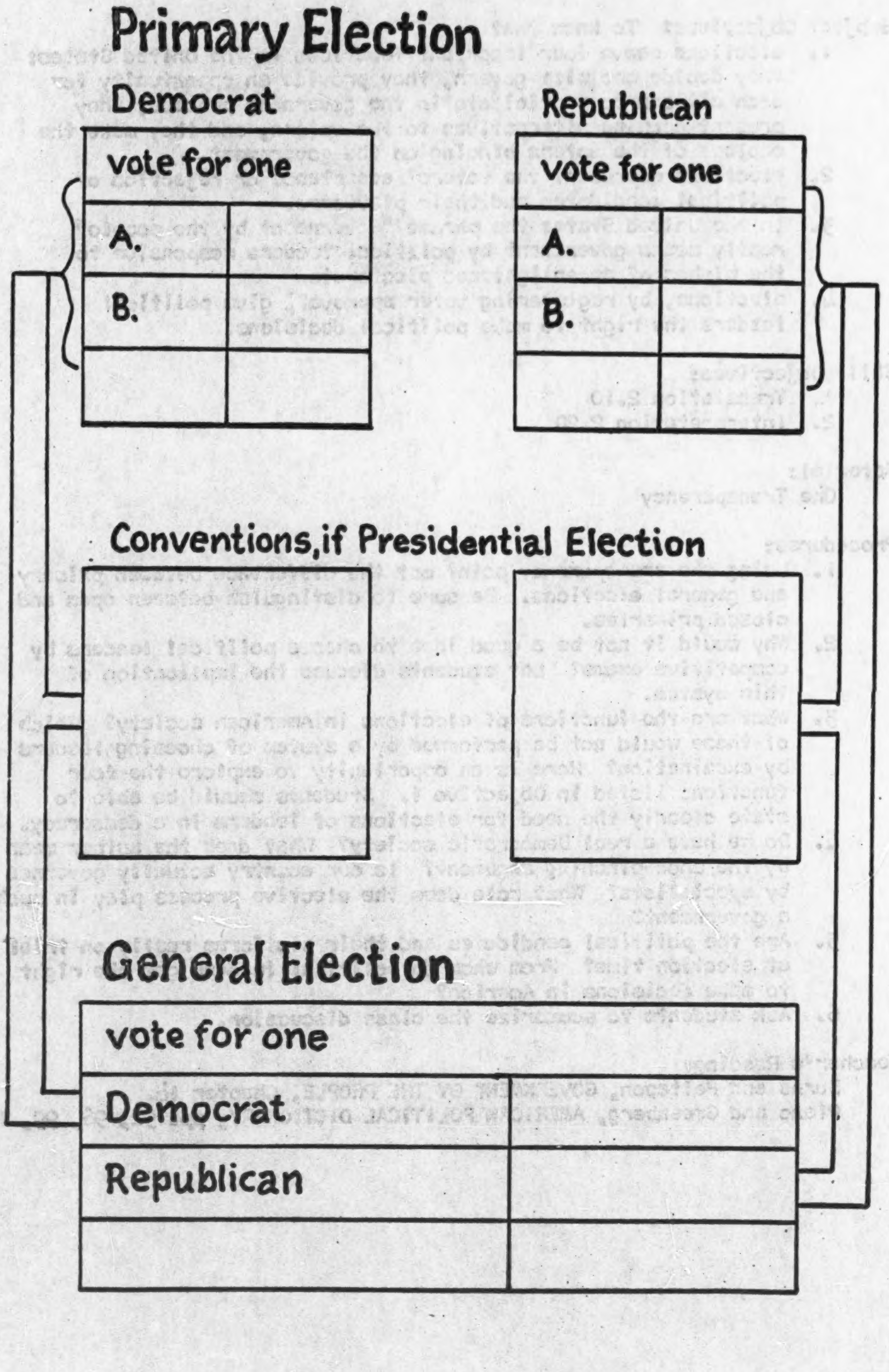
Procedures:

1. Using the transparency point out the difference between primary and general elections. Be sure to distinguish between open and closed primaries.
2. Why would it not be a good idea to choose political leaders by competitive exams? Let students discuss the implication of this system.
3. What are the functions of elections in American society? Which of these would not be performed by a system of choosing leaders by examination? Here is an opportunity to explore the four functions listed in Objective I. Students should be able to state clearly the need for elections of leaders in a democracy.
4. Do we have a real Democratic society? What does the author mean by the shoe-pinching argument? Is our country actually governed by specialists? What role does the elective process play in such a government?
5. Are the political candidates and their platforms really on trial at election time? From whom do political leaders get the right to make decisions in America?
6. Ask students to summarize the class discussion.

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 14.
Plano and Greenberg, AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, pp. 92, 96, 99, 105.

18


Primary Election
Democrat
vote for one
A.
B.
Republican
vote for one
A.
B.
Conventions, if Presidential Election
General Election
vote for one
Democrat
Republican

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS LESSON PLAN: DAY 19

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. In the United States campaigns are an integral part of the election process. They serve as an important means of attracting political support by activating voters and arousing their interests, by reinforcing views voters already hold, and by converting a person to a new political view.
2. In a democratic society the political campaign represents the prime arena in which competing candidates vie for the good will and votes of the people.
3. The appeals used by candidates reflect their views of the American voter.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:
Objective examination
One tape

Procedures:

1. At the beginning of class distribute the objective examination. Allow 20 minutes for the exam and require the students to adhere to this time limit.
2. Pass out the class handout for this day. Explain to the students that they will be listening to a taped recording of a political campaign. The class handouts will help them to understand the tape. Give students 3 minutes to read the handout.
3. Play the tape which lasts six minutes without interruption. Then discuss the tape and the reading at once. Raise the issue of the way in which political support is generated by a political campaign. Use the class handout as a guide for discussion or follow the questions listed below:
   - A. Why do you think political campaigns are always accompanied by a great deal of noisy color? (To arouse the interests of vot voters.)
     How did Hubert Humphrey arouse voter interest? (song) How did Huey Long arouse interests? (Carnival-like campaign) Did Stevenson hope to arouse voter interests? (Yes) How? (By giving voters intelligent argument on issues)
   - B. Was there any difference in the campaign approaches of Kennedy and Humphrey? How did their different problems influence their approach? (Humphrey ran out of money and advertised the fact. A poor man among poor men was his approach. Kennedy was a Catholic candidate in a predominantly Protestant state, so he publicly proclaimed his views on religion and politics while calling upon the fairness of the voters.)
   - C. What image did Humphrey hope to project in West Virginia? (A man of the people) Why? (He was reinforcing something with which these voters were familiar.) How did Huey Long attempt to reinforce views voters already held? (By identifying with their prejudices) What reaction did he receive? (Pour it on 'em Huey)

D. What image did Humphrey ho
D. One of the specific ways to gain political support in a campaign is by converting a person to a new view. Can we see evidence of this in the tape? (Kennedy's religious appeal to a predominantly Protestant audience.) Did Stevenson really believe he could change people's minds by his arguments?

The teacher should list these three specific ways brought out by the tape in which a political campaign attracts political supports by arousing voters, reinforcing their views or converting them to the candidate's position.

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 252-253, 348-369.
Lefever and Hohenstein, PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 124-125.

JOHN F. KENNEDY APPEALS FOR SUPPORT

In class today we will listen to a taped recording of brief excerpts from the 1960 Presidential campaign. The tape is six minutes long. Your teacher will play the tape and then discuss its contents. While listening to the tape you should examine the ways in which these recorded campaign appeals attempted to rally political support. Keep in mind your reading for today. Remember the campaign methods use by Stevenson and Huey Long.

Think of the following questions as you listen to the tape:

1. Why would Hubert Humphrey use a folksinger in his campaign? Could the technique have worked as well for Kennedy? for Stevenson? for Huey Long?

2. What were the different campaign approaches of Kennedy and Humphrey in West Virginia? Did the men face different problems?

3. How do political campaigns attract political support? Do they arouse voters' interests? Do they change voters' political views? Do they reinforce voters' political views?

SCRIPT OF TAPE: POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Nixon's Speech: "The people of the United States in this last week have finally caught up with the promises that have been made by our opponent. They realize that it's modern medicine-man show, a Pied Piper from Boston, and they're not going to go down that road."

Kennedy's Speech: "I run against a candidate who reminds me of the symbol of his party, the circus elephant, head full of ivory, a long memory and no vision. And you have seen elephants being led around a circus ring. They grab the tail of the elephant in front of them."

Song Supporting Humphrey

Narrator: These are the sounds of a political campaign--noisy, raucous, blatant, they all represent appeals for political support.

In class today, we will hear a description of a specific political campaign. The events described occurred in the West Virginia Primary during the 1960 presidential election. The opponents here were the democratic candidates for president, Senators Hubert Humphrey and John Kennedy. As you listen, ask yourself: How did these men hope to attract political support by their different methods of campaigning? Note also the problems faced by each candidate.

West Virginia Primary-

Narrator: As Kennedy arrives to take command in Charleston, West Virginia, he finds his organization already installed, and fresh reserves arriving from New England. Bobby Kennedy goads the team into high. Pollster Lou Harris arrives to probe the tides of prejudice. Direct from Wisconsin to marshal the field-workers has come Larry O'Brien and press-chief Salinger is now on a twenty-hour day.

Against such formidable opposition, Humphrey's major problem grows more acute every day.

Humphrey: "It doesn't make you feel very happy when a man walks into your room at 5:30 in the morning and says, 'Senator, we're in debt $18,000 and we have no more money for anything. No money for television, no money for printing...' I say, 'Where are the buttons?' 'We have no more money.' So I say, 'Alright, we'll just knock off the whole deal, cancel out the program, and we'll get on this telephone and we'll call my friends in Minnesota. We'll call them in New York. We'll call them in Washington...we've got to raise the money.'"

Narrator: From beginning to end, Humphrey's campaign echoes America of another day -- of the old populists, of the warm visionary early New Deal. He was the poor man's candidate: and in West Virginia with its thousands of unemployed miners, Humphrey hoped for response.

Campaign Song for Humphrey: "Humphrey is a Senator; a neighbor; a friend. We are going to stick with him all the way to the end. He used to come over just to help us out. It is our turn to help him without any doubt. So vote for Hubert, Hubert Humphrey, the President for you and me."

Narrator: Kennedy's problem is religion. The two elegant Kennedys with their polished east coast accents, their grace of dress and bearing, seem alien in West Virginia. But nothing seems more alien than their Catholic faith in this overwhelmingly Protestant state. Staff planners debate the problem. Finally, acting with his closest adviser, Ted Sorensen, Kennedy decides to bring the issue into the open.

There is no test of faith or religion when a man is summoned to die for his country -- why should there be a test of faith when he tries to serve it in peace? So speaks Kennedy. But no one can read from the intent faces of the West Virginians whether this plea reaches their heart.

On May 10th, West Virginia votes. It will be late before the ballots give the answer -- a Kennedy sweep by 60 - 40. The walls of prejudice have fallen.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Readings 12-19
SECOND OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example: Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
1. Chicago is a A) state. B) city. C) country. D) continent.	1. A [✓ B] C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right munus one-third of the number of wrong.

1. Which of the men listed below would disagree most with the following statement? "Political campaigns are important means of gaining political support."

   A) Huey Long
   B) Adalai Stevenson
   C) Mayor Lawrence
   [✓ D) Teplov]

2. Which of the following is not a function of American political parties?

   A) To select candidates to run as nominees for elective office
   B) To assume much of the campaign burden for their parties' nominees
   C) When out of power, to act as a critic of the party in power
   [✓ D) To develop an ideological position which all party members must support]

3. If Teplov is a fair example, what special advantages do leaders of the Russian Communist Party enjoy?

   A) Security from arrest
   [✓ B) A relatively higher standard of living]
   C) Less work
   D) Freedom to do as one pleases

4. According to our reading, Mayor Lawrence was driven primarily by his love of (or for)

A) friends.
B) wealth.
[✓ C) political power.]
D) battle.

5. Lawrence best revealed his understanding of how to pacify minority groups by

A) his exercise at the YMCA.
B) his willingness to defend public servants wrongfully accused.
[✓ C) his selection of councilmen and judges.]
D) his treatment of Republican businessmen.

Questions 7 through 10 refer to the types of appeals which are used by politicians and which appear below.

Speaker I: "Sonny Liston, Jackie Robinson, and Martin Luther King are all going to vote for Jones. You should too."
Speaker II: "Every time Jones opens his mouth he sounds like a Communist!"
Speaker III: "Smith has never supported civil rights legislation in Congress."
Speaker IV: "Smith has consistently voted for social security, unemployment compensation, and minimum wage."

6. Which speakers are trying to gain support by appealing primarily to the listener's feelings or emotions?

[✓ A) I, II]
B) I, III
C) III, IV
D) I, III, IV

7. Which speakers are trying to gain support primarily by rational or logical appeals?

A) I, II
B) II, IV
[✓ C) III, IV]
D) I, III

8. Which speakers are trying to win the support of an important racial minority group?

A) I, IV
[✓ B) I, III]
C) I, II, IV
D) II, III

9. Which speaker is attempting to gain the support of organized labor?

A) I
B) II
C) III
[✓ D) IV]

Questions 10 through 13 refer to the four points of view about leadership which appear below.

Speaker I: A leader must be strong and ruthless if he wishes to survive. He must not be afraid to use his power against those who oppose him.

Speaker II: A leader must be careful. He should try to do the detailed work of his job perfectly, but he should never offend men who hold more powerful positions.

Speaker III: A leader's most important job is to persuade members of different interest groups to work well with each other.

Speaker IV: Neither lack of formal education nor religion nor working class origins prevents a good man from becoming a leader and from associating with the rich and well born.

10. Whicn speaker most clearly describes the career of Mayor Lawrence:

A) I C) III
B) II [✓ D) IV]

11. Which speaker most clearly reflects the work and philosophy of Teplov?

A) I C) III
[✓ B) II] D) IV

12. Which two speakers reflect patterns of leadership in the Soviet Union?

A) I and IV C) II and III
[✓ B) I and II] D) III and IV

13. Which speaker most clearly reflects the middle of the road political philosophy of many American politicians?

A) I [✓ C) III]
B) II D) IV

Questions 14 through 18 refer to the following list. WARNING: Some answers may be used more often than once and some not at all.

A) Soviet Union
B) United States
C) Imperial Russia
D) None of the above

14. "If a candidate expects to be nominated and to win, he must not be unacceptable to any really important interest group." B

15. "You dare ask me, a gentleman about my qualifications for office?" C

16. "Since getting food is most important to us and we have supplied it for generations, you must still do as we say even though you can eat without us." D

17. "My right to rule comes from God alone." C

18. "You wish to see my credentials for leadership. Very well, I'll list them! I'm a loyal party supporter," I'm popular with the voters, and I haven't offended anyone." B

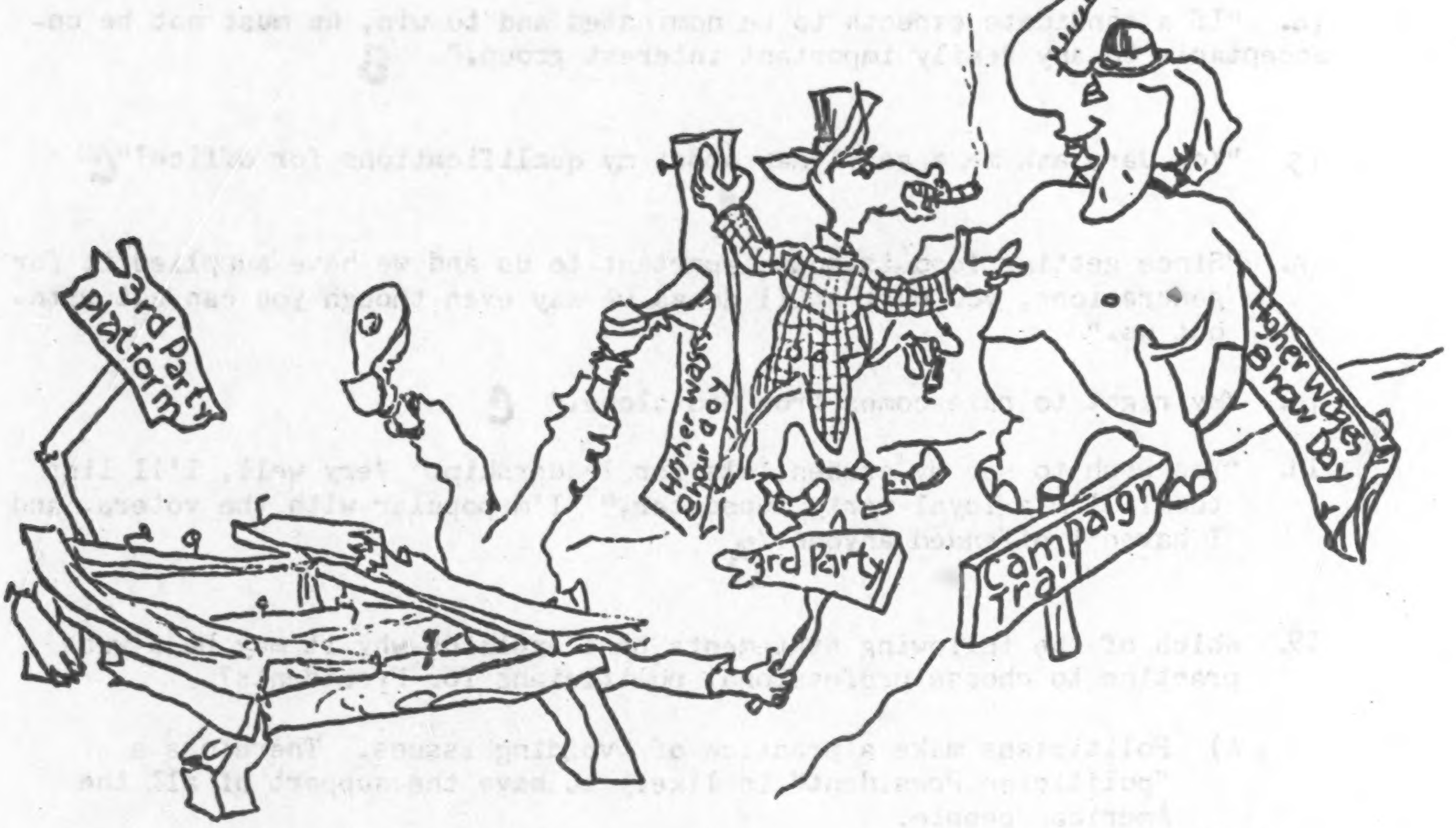
19. Which of the following statements best explains why it may be a wise practice to choose professional politicians for Presidents?

A) Politicians make a practice of avoiding issues. Therefore a "politician President" is likely to have the support of all the American people.
*B) Being president requires political talent and experience .
C) Politicians tend to be more honest than the population at large.
D) Politicians are generally lawyers, and lawyers know best how our government should be run.

20. Which of the following is typical of both a member of the present-day Communist Party apparatus in Russia and a nineteenth century Russian bureaucrat?

*A) Personal loyalty to the top leader
B) A staunch supporter of party principles
C) A well-trained government specialist
D) A polished aristocratic gentleman

Questions 21 and 22 refer to the following cartoon.



21. This cartoon represents
    A) the traditional unity of the Republican and Democratic party.
    *B) the traditional fate of third parties in American politics.
    C) the continual fighting that occurs between the Republican and Democratic parties.
    D) the lack of initiative always displayed by third parties in American politics.

22. One of the principal functions of Democratic elections is to provide genuine alternatives for voters. In trying to achieve the widest support, however, the two major American political parties often adopt similar stands on important issues. Choose from the following phrases a title for the cartoon that would best illustrate this characteristic practice of the Republican and Democratic parties.
    *A) There's no difference, as you can see, twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee.
    B) Birds of a feather flock together.
    C) The bigger they are the harder they fall.
    D) All for one and one for all.

23. The "shoe pinching" argument about American government implies
    A) all american citizens are not qualified to vote; therefore our election system is undemocratic.
    [✓ B)] all American citizens are not qualified to govern; therefore, they must select specialists.
    C) all American citizens should be permitted a greater voice in government.
    D) all American citizens find their government too restrictive, like a pair of shoes that pinch.

24. Which one of the following characteristics of the top decision makers in the U.S.S.R. would not apply to the top decision makers in the United States?

    A) They are drawn from the better educated groups.
    B) They represent the majority elements of the population.
    C) They perform differentiated functions.
    [✓ D)] They are all members of the same party.

25. Which of the following statements about the American election process is least true?

    [✓ A)] American elections provide the best means of choosing political leaders.
    B) American elections are an expression of the democratic process.
    C) American elections often present little in the way of alternative choices to the voter.
    D) American elections provide a means by which citizens can participate in the governing process.

WHY DO AMERICANS VOTE AS THEY DO?

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the Republican and Democratic parties tend to attract different types of members and that these differences are related to income, sex, race, occupation, religion, education, and age.
2. most peoples' votes can be predicted if enough of their background is known.
3. political leaders gear their campaigns to what they know about these voting patterns,

Skill Objective:

Translation 2.10
Extrapolation 2.30

Material:

Three transparencies

Procedures:

1. Discuss the voting profile. If time remains use the transparencies and listed questions. The main objective to be attained is the understanding that a person's voting behavior can be predicted from certain sociological variables.
2. Begin discussion of the voting profile by asking the students to determine what general assumption is behind the use of this voting profile. (The teacher should arrive at some general statement similar to the main objective stated above.)
3. Go through each of the twenty questions and ask students to generalize from the information (For example #1 - "People Tend to Vote As Their Father Votes"; #7 - "People Under Thirty Tend to be Democratic.")

   The determination of these generalizations, and the discussion of this validity should be very interesting to students. But don't linger! Press on to the use made of such information by political leaders desiring to gain support.
4. If you were a political leader, how would you use this information? (Emphasize the theme of our unit; gaining and maintaining political support.)
5. The following questions should be used if the transparencies are used. Again tie in the discussion of this specific information with its use as a means of gaining political support.

   TABLE I

   1. Does this chart tell you who won the election in 1960?
   2. Who favors Democrats most strongly--professional and executive groups or white collar workers?
   3. Which age group favors Democrats the least? Which the most?
   4. Why did the percentage of Catholics favoring the Democrats jump so high in 1960 while the figures for Protestants and Jews remained relatively the same?
   5. If the vote was limited to college graduates, who would have won in 1956? In 1960?

TABLE II
1. Who is most involved in politics, males or females?
2. What does education have to do with involvement in politics?
3. "If you made a low income you will work to change the government." Does this seem true in practice?
4. Many people argue that the voting age should be lowered because young people (18-21) are interested in politics. Does the chart support this argument?

TABLE III
1. If both parents were Democrats, what percentage of the offspring was either a strong or weak Democrat?
2. If both parents were Republican, what percentage of the offspring was either a strong or weak Republican?
3. If parents had no consistent partisanship, what tends to be the party identification of the offspring?
4. The largest number of independent voters seem to have had parents who had no consistent partisanship. How would you explain this?
5. If neither parent was politically active, how does this affect the way in which the offspring identifies with the party he chooses?
6. If one or both parents were politically active, how does this affect the way the offspring identifies with the party he chooses?

Teacher's Readings:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 233, 248-258.
Rogow, Arnold (ed.) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, A READER, pp. 257-260.
Ranney, John C., "Do the Polls Serve Democracy?" in BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 31-40.

20-1

PRES PREFERENCES OF SOCIAL GROUPS

Social Group	% Favor Democrats 1956	% Favor Democrats 1960
Entire Electorate	42	51
Men	45	51
Women	39	49
Grade school educated	50	55
High school educated	42	52
College educated	31	38
Professional & executive	32	37
White collar workers	37	45
Manual workers	50	61
Farmers	46	46
Trade union members	57	65
Age group 21-29	43	58
Age group 30-49	45	53
Age group over 50	39	45
Whites	41	49
Negroes	61	62
Protestants	37	39
Roman Catholics	51	73
Jews	75	81

20-2

SOCIAL CORRELATES OF POL INVOLVEMENT

HIGH INVOLVEMENT	LOW INVOLVEMENT
Males	Females
Whites	Negroes
35 years of age and over	Under 35 years of age
High formal educ	Low formal educ
High income	Low income
Urban residence	Rural residence
Membership in several organizations	No organizational memberships
Occupations:	Occupations:
Professions	Farm workers
Business exec	Unskilled labor
White collar workers	
Skilled labor	

20-3A

THE "HEREDITARY VOTE": REPORTED IN %AGES 1958

One or both parents were politically active

Party Identification of Offspring	Both Par. were. Demo.	Both Par. were. Repub.	Parents had no consistent partisanship
Strong Democrat	50	5	21
Weak Democrat	29	9	26
Independent	12	13	26
Weak Republican	6	34	16
Strong Republican	2	37	10
Apolitical	1	2	1
	100	100	100

20-3B

THE "HEREDITARY VOTE": REPORTED IN %AGES 1958

Neither parent was politically active

Party Identification of Offspring	Both Par. were. Demo.	Both Par. were. Repub.	Parents had no consistent partisanship
Strong Democrat	40	6	20
Weak Democrat	36	11	15
Independent	19	16	26
Weak Republican	3	42	20
Strong Republican	1	24	12
Apolitical	1	1	7
	100	100	100

HOW KENNEDY WON THE PRESIDENCY

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. to become a political decision-maker in the United States a candidate must be nominated by his party and win the election.
2. securing party nomination requires the support of divergent groups within the party and of prominent party leaders.
3. victory in an election requires control of a party, support of different interest groups, effective campaigning, and a large turnout of supporters at election time.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of elements 4.10
Translation 2.10
Application 3.00
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Distribute the class handouts which contain a description of the three-part tape and questions on each part.
2. Play the tape. Stop at the end of each part and discuss the selection. Use the questions on the class handouts as a guide. Reference should be made throughout each discussion period to the central theme of this week's work; the ways in which American political leaders gain and maintain support.
3. When discussing Section Three, point out the potential problems outlined by the 1960 census. (Heavy minority growth in urban areas, Negro concentration in urban areas) The teacher should use the transparency which demonstrates visually Kennedy's success in capturing votes in the urban centers. Refer to the reading for the day which provides statistics and names the seven large states. Guide students in picking out the answer to the problem posed by the tape (i.e. How did Kennedy and Nixon respond to the census figures?)
4. Have students summarize the class discussion.

Materials:

Tape
Transparency

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 365-375.
Powell, Theodore, DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 48-55 (background on Kennedy), pp. 91 - 100 (Kennedy selects Johnson and T.V. debates).
Wicklein, John, "Religion in Politics: 1960 Election," in POLITICS U.S.A. pp. 200-212.

To be used in conjunction with tape recording taken from sound track of "The Making of a President--1960."

CPS   Class Handout, Day 21

THE 1960 CAMPAIGN: KENNEDY VS NIXON

In class today we will listen to a taped presentations of specific events which occurred during the Presidential campaign of 1960. Taken from the award winning TV documentary, "The Making of the President--1960," this recording describes the means used by John F. Kennedy to win the office of President. This tape is designed to supplement your reading for today.

It describes the interaction of candidates and their parties and portrays the influence that interest groups can exert on a candidate. It is a summary of our study of the means used by American political leaders to gain support.

The tape will be played in three parts. After each part the tape will be stopped to permit class discussion. Below are questions you should try to answer as you listen to each part.

Section I

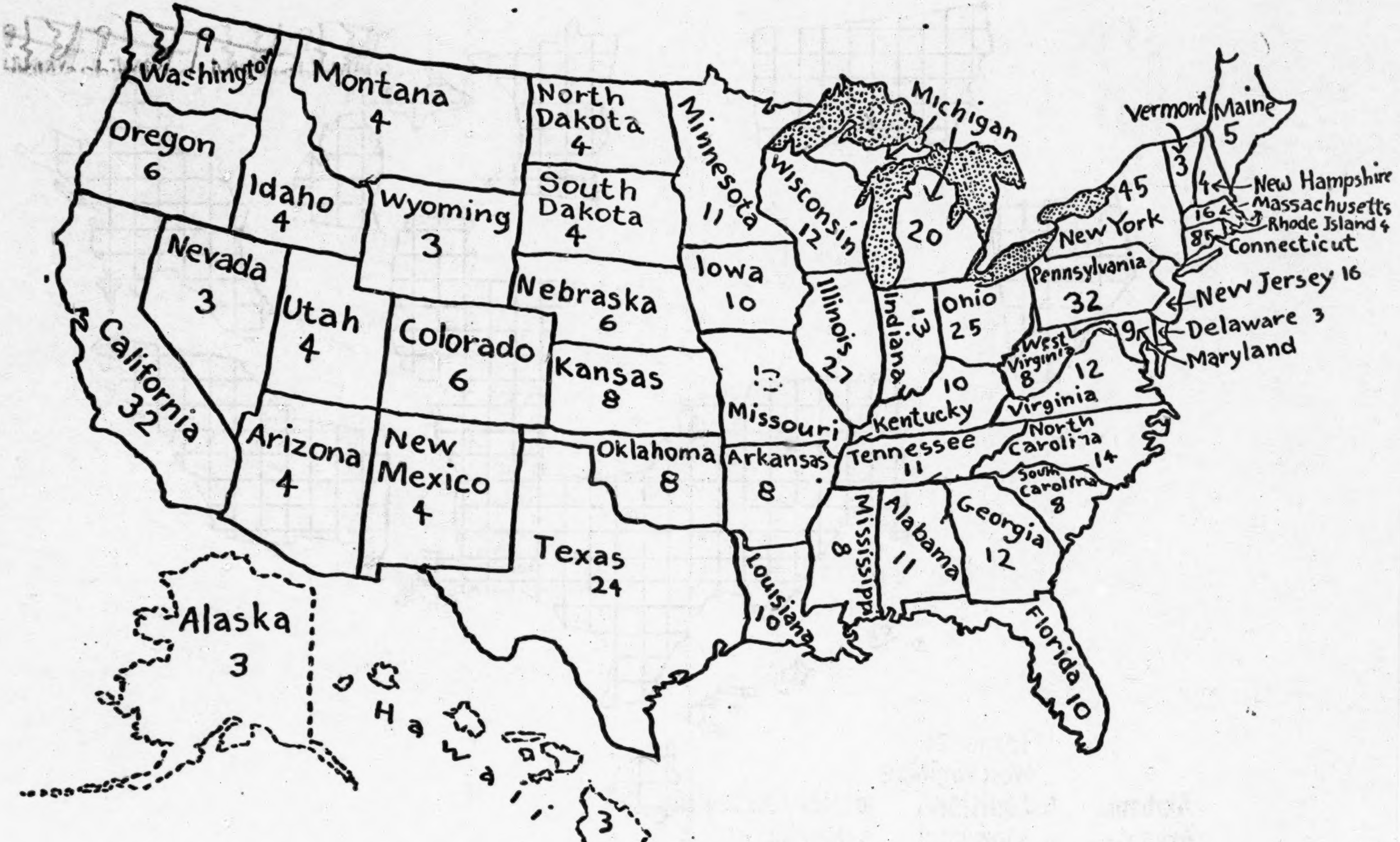
1. How did Kennedy and Humphrey hope to use the primary elections as means of gaining political support?
2. What different campaign techniques were used by Kennedy and Humphrey?

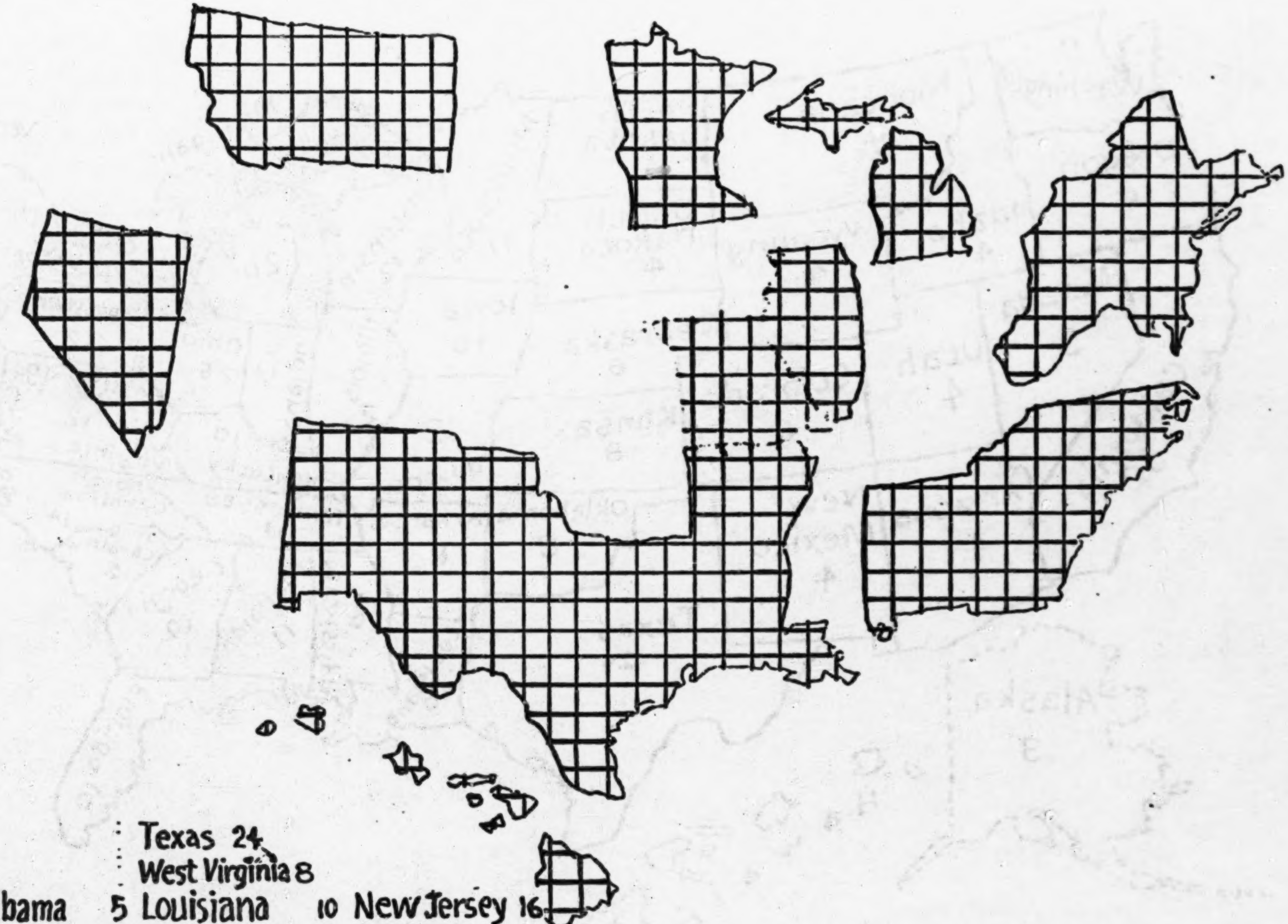
Section II

1. Why did John Kennedy seek out the Democratic Party leaders after his victories in the primaries?
2. How did the Kennedy organization defeat the other Presidential hopefuls in the Democratic Party? What different Democratic groups gave their convention support to John Kennedy?
3. Why didn't Stevenson openly seek nomination at the convention?

Section III

1. What campaign strategy was planned by Richard Nixon? By John Kennedy?
2. What potential problems were outlined by the census figures? How did Kennedy and Nixon face each of these problems?
3. What effect did the television debates have on the public image of the two candidates?


Washington 9
Oregon 6
California 32
Nevada 3
Idaho 4
Montana 4
Wyoming 3
Utah 4
Arizona 4
Colorado 6
New Mexico 4
North Dakota 4
South Dakota 4
Nebraska 6
Kansas 8
Oklahoma 8
Texas 24
Minnesota 11
Iowa 10
Missouri 13
Arkansas 8
Louisiana 10
Wisconsin 12
Illinois 27
Michigan 20
Indiana 13
Ohio 25
Kentucky 10
Tennessee 11
Mississippi 8
Alabama 11
Georgia 12
Florida 10
South Carolina 8
North Carolina 14
Virginia 12
West Virginia 8
Pennsylvania 32
New York 45
Vermont 3
Maine 5
New Hampshire 4
Massachusetts 16
Rhode Island 4
Connecticut 8
New Jersey 16
Delaware 3
Maryland 9
Alaska 3
Hawaii 3



Texas 24
West Virginia 8

Alabama	5	Louisiana	10	New Jersey	16
Arkansas	8	Maryland	9	New Mexico	4
Connecticut	8	Massachusetts	16	New York	45
Delaware	3	Michigan	20	North Carolina	14
Georgia	12	Minnesota	11	Pennsylvania	32
Hawaii	3	Missouri	13	Rhode Island	4

HOW AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS MAINTAIN SUPPORT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. although a candidate may step up his campaign just prior to election, he is constantly involved in a search for votes.
2. candidates seek to present themselves as the type of person an "average" American would like.
3. politicians rely upon mass media for more than face-to-face communication.

Skill Objectives: Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Are Congressmen concerned about publicity? What evidence can you find to prove that they are? The author claims that it is unusual to find harsh criticism of individual Congressmen in newspapers. Why is this so? Are American voters being deprived of valuable information about the activities of their Congressmen?
2. What is a composite telecast? Do you see any danger in this system? Does it give a citizen a fair view of his lawmakers? Why do you think this method has been developed?
3. Distribute the Nixon reading and give students time to read it.
4. We've been looking at the methods used by American politicians to maintain a favorable image before the American voter. Let's examine these methods in more depth. Why did Mr. Nixon have so many different suits? Why did he comment about baseball? What was Nixon seeking to present? What kind of person did he believe the American voter to be?
5. Is it important for an American political leader to establish an image with which people can identify? Is such identification necessary in a democracy?
6. What responsibilities do these methods of creating images place upon the American citizen?
7. Teacher should ask students to summarize main points brought out in class discussion.

Materials:

Class handout

Teacher's reading:

Scott and Wallace (eds.), POLITICS U.S.A., pp. 218-247.

Miller, William L., "Manipulation of Political Opinion by Public Relations Experts" in POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 91-94.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING -- Lesson XXII

THE IMPORTANCE OF A POLITICAL IMAGE

From Russell Baker, "Nixon Is Painting Homey Self Image," in THE NEW YORK TIMES, September 18, 1960, p. 45, col. 1.

Article describes how Nixon attempted to present himself as a "good guy" to his audiences in presidential campaign of 1960.

WHEN LEADERS LOSE SUPPORT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. one of the characteristics of the American political system is a constant turnover of political leaders.
2. this turnover affects elective offices and those appointive posts filled by the decisions of elected officials.
3. the seniority system of Congress offers a built-in protection against domination of Congress by new inexperienced law makers.
4. no punishment awaits the defeated American political leader; his future depends upon his ability to make a successful adjustment to private life.

Skill Objectives:

Production of a unique communication 5.10
Analysis of elements 4.10

Procedures:

1. At the beginning of class distribute the essay exam. Allow students 20 minutes for the exam.
2. What is Mr. Nixon doing now? How did his defeat in the presidential election of 1960 affect his later private career? His political career? What happens to American political leaders when they lose support of party or voters?
3. What advantages and disadvantages are there in a turnover of political leadership?
4. What does the author mean when he says, "Few systems are so ill-equipped to make a rapid and wholesale turnover as ours, and yet do it so easily and peacefully"?
5. What branches of our national government are most seriously affected by this turnover? Why? What branch seems least affected? Why?
6. Let's stop for a minute to evaluate our elective system. It enables relatively inexperienced men to assume political office so long as they win popular support. Is the problem of inexperience as a result of turnover common to all democratic countries? (Under the Parliamentary system of England, the problem of political inexperience is relatively small. The Prime Minister, the chief decision maker, is always the leader of the majority party in Parliament. Cabinet members are also usually veteran legislators.)
7. How dangerous is our practice of selecting our chief executive by popular vote? Examine his broad appointive powers. Remember that he runs the biggest branch of the federal government. Do you think this problem of inexperience occurs in the Soviet Union?

Materials:

Essay examination

Teacher's reading:

American Political Dictionary, p. 11, Parliamentary system.

Bagehot, Walter, "The Superiority of the Parliamentary System" in POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 170-172.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 15-23
ESSAY EXAMINATION III

This examination will last twenty minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both. Follow directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you begin to write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you begin to write.

1. "Gaining support to insure an election victory in the United States requires intensive planning and hard work."

   Using this statement as your topic sentence, write a paragraph of ten to twelve sentences in which you describe the means used by John F. Kennedy to gain the Democratic nomination for president in 1960. Be sure to mention political parties, interest groups, campaign methods and election strategy.

2. "The correct function of a political campaign is to set before the voters the different views of the opposing candidates."

   Write a paragraph consisting of ten to twelve sentences in which you defend or attack this statement. Use specific examples from your reading and class discussion to support your position.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Subject Objectives: To know that .

1. the Communist Party of the Soviet Union performs most of the activities of an American political party in addition to many other tasks, including maintaining party discipline and preserving the ideological system; preventing deviations from official policy; transmitting official policy to the general public; exhorting workers to greater efforts; and administering and supervising athe overall operation of the State.
2. since the C.P.S.U. is more powerful than the formal government of the U.S.S.R., top soviet leaders use the party to maintain political power.
3. the C.P.S.U. recruits as members the best talent in the country.
4. party membership demands loyalty, absolute obedience, knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and a willingness to work hard.
5. the rewards of party membership lie partially in a somewhat higher standard of living and in being a participant in the power structure of the U.S.S.R.

Skill Objectives:
Application 3.00

Procedures:

1. What are the functions of American political parties? (Nomination of candidates, mobilization of support for candidates, etc.k) Does the Communist Party of the Soviet Union perform any similar function? (Yes, the C.P.S.U. also: nominates candidates, mobilizes support for candidates and identifies and defines issues.)
2. Is there any difference in the way these functions are carried out by the C.P.S.U. and American political parties? (Yes.) Does the fact that the C.P.S.U. is the only political party in the Soviet Union have anything to do with the way it performs those functions? (Yes. The one party position of the C.P.S.U. permits it to perform these functions in a coercive fashipn. i.e., candidates nominated by C.P.S.U. face no opposing candidates.)
3. What special tasks does the C.P.S.U. assume in the USSR which are not functions of American political parties?
   - A. To maintain party discipline and preserve the ideological system
   - B. To prevent deviations from official policy and suppress factionalism
   - C. To transmit official policy to the general public
   - D. To exhort workers to greater effort
   - E. To administer and supervise the overall operation of the state

   Why don't American parties perform similar tasks?
   - A. Not founded on ideological principles
   - B. Do not have absolute control of state--always competition from Second Party
4. How is the CPSU used by top Soviet leaders to maintain power?
5. Let's look at this from another point of view. What would you do if you wanted to become a political decision-maker in the USSR? Do you think it would be difficult to get into the CPSU? Why is membership so selective? What credentials would you have to display for entrance into the Party and advancement within its ranks?

6. Would you expect to find a similar relationship between political party and government wherever there is only one legal party in the country?

Teacher's Reading:

Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, pp. 211-212, 215-16.
Frankel, Max, "One Party Government" in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND GOVERNMENT, pp. 74-79.

THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. Soviet elections serve different purposes than do American elections.
2. the purposes of Soviet elections are to gain popular endorsement for the regime, to have available a representative body in the style of Western democracies, and to honor those who are contributing to the goals of the state.
3. a candidate may be non-communist but not anti-communist.
4. although many "public organizations" may participate in the nomination process, in the last analysis nominations are controlled by the Communist party.
5. Soviet leaders use elections to enable the Russian people to experience a sense of participation in government.

Skill Objectives:

Translation 2.10
Application 3.00
Synthesis 5.00

Materials:

One transparency

Procedures:

1. During the class hour put notes on the overhead projector as pertinent points are contributed by the students. They should be progressing quite well with notetaking by this time, but seeing the teacher take notes in class may remind them of the importance of good note taking.
2. Use the transparency reproduction of a Soviet ballot for this lesson. What is the significance of the information given here? (The single name on ballot indicates no opposition to candidate) What role does the Communist Party play in Soviet elections? (Nominates candidates, etc. Students should be able to repeat information about Party role covered in lesson 24.) Use the transparency from lesson 18 showing the American ballots in the primary and general elections. What differences do you see between the American and the Soviet ballots? (Students should immediately notice the number of names on the American ballot compared to the single candidate on the Soviet ballot.)
3. How many of the four purposes or functions of American elections apply to Soviet elections?
4. Why do the Russians work so hard to get a complete turnout of voters when the election results are already determined?
5. Why do Soviet leaders hold elections? How do elections help Soviet leaders to maintain support?
6. Why do you think non-Communists are often permitted to run for, and to hold, elective office?
7. Why are election campaigns unnecessary in the USSR?

Teacher's reading: Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, Chapter 11.
Scammon, R.M., "Uncontested Elections" in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 79-81.

ELECTORAL BULLETIN
FOR THE ELECTION TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

MARCH 16,1958

KOKCHETAV CITY DISTRICT NO.640 FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION

Leave on the ballot the name of the ONE candidate for whom you vote, and cross out the others.

NAME OF CANDIDATE	NOMINATED BY:
SUYUNZHANOVA, Kairken	General meeting of the members of the Stalin collective farm in the Kokchetav district, and by the collective of workers and employes of the Imantavsky Machine Tractor Station in Aryk-Balyksky district.

HOW KHRUSHCHEV BECAME THE RULER OF THE U.S.S.R.

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. unlike the United States, the Soviet Union has no formal rule of succession to the top leadership post and the death of a leader usually triggers a struggle for succession.
2. upon the death of Stalin, Khrushchev used the Party apparatus and government support to isolate his rivals and rise to power.
3. the Soviet system of succession to top leadership position does not depend upon the popularity of the candidate as it does in the United States.
4. in the Soviet Union the competition for political leadership is intense and the loss of political power can have very serious consequences.

Skill Objectives:

Application 3.00
Analysis of elements 4.10

Procedures:

1. Can someone describe the way in which John F. Kennedy used interest groups, political parties, campaigns and elections to gain top political power in 1960? (Primary election victories and the support of Democratic Party leaders gave Kennedy control of the Democratic Party: He defeated Nixon in a campaign which gained him the support of voters from heavily populated urban areas. The large minority groups (i.e. interest groups) in these urban areas -- Negro, Catholic, Jewish -- solidly supported Kennedy.)
2. We see then that the society of the United States has a series of formal traditions (campaigns and elections) and informal rules (control of party, support of interest groups) which guide the society in its selection of political leaders. Does the Soviet Union have parallel rules or traditions to govern its selection of top political leaders? (No) How does the Soviet Union solve the problem of succession? (by inter-party struggle) How did Khrushchev rise to power after Stalin's death? (Compare the use by Khrushchev and Kennedy of their political parties, interest groups, elections, and campaigns to gain political power.)
3. What differences exist in the ways these two men gained political power? (Kennedy by popular election, and Khrushchev by Party struggle)
4. Would you say that American leaders are chosen on the basis of ability or popularity? (Apparently popularity) Is it necessary to be an experienced governmental decision-make to be elected President of the United States?

(Note: Teacher may use Hyman's "Nine Tests for a Presidential Hopeful" as a basis for discussion. Eisenhower is an example of a man with no political experience.) Does the Soviet system provide experienced candidates for their top leadership position? (Yes. A wealth of experienced leaders wait to take over the top post. This is evidenced by Khrushchev's struggle for power.)

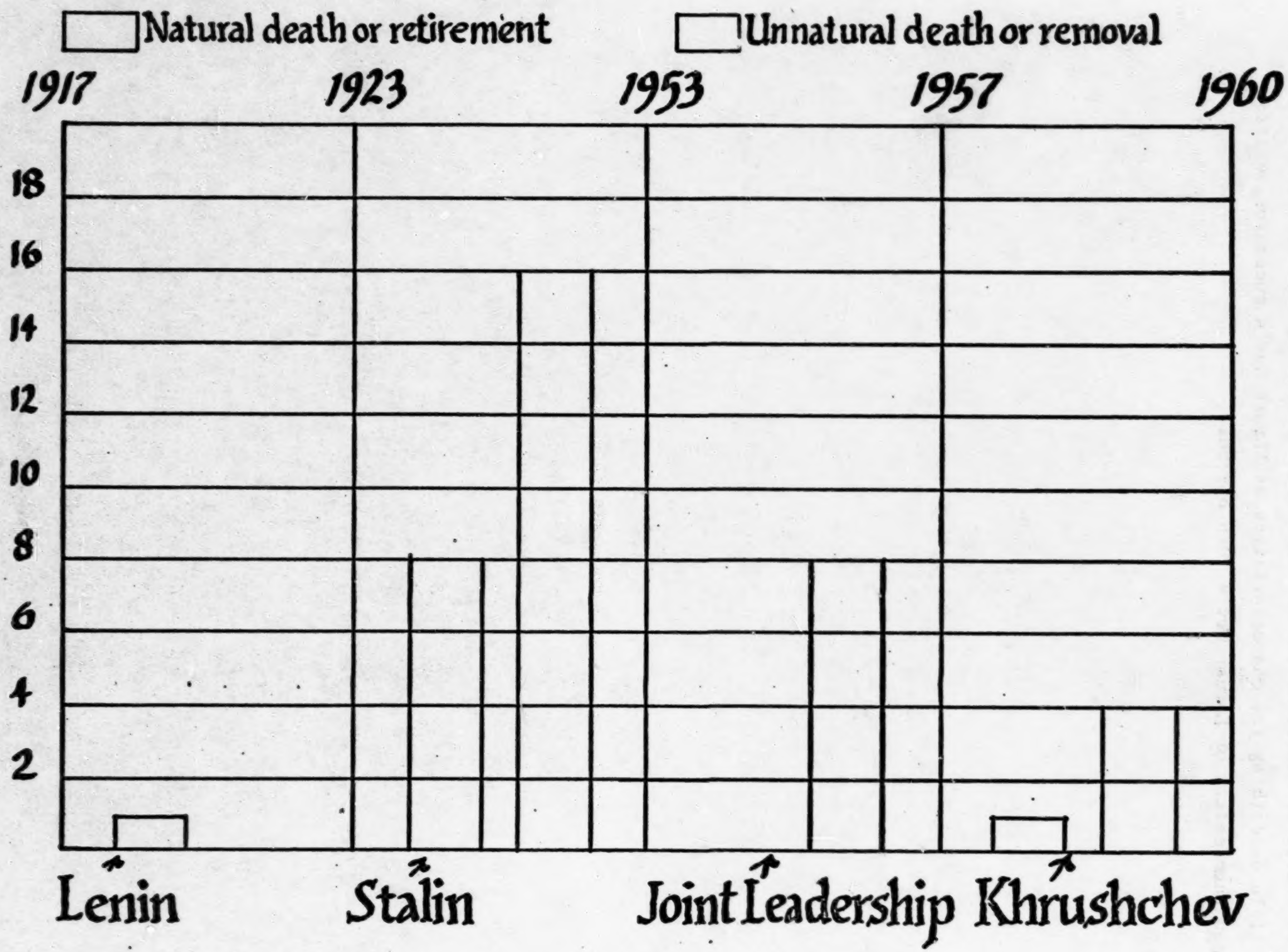
5. Ask students on the basis of our study of the characteristics of a Soviet leader to guess the characteristics of Khrushchev's probable successor. List them on board or projector. Then pass out the Moseley reading which gives an expert's opinion on the subject. Discuss this reading.
6. Place on the projector the transparency showing the fate of Soviet leaders who have lost political support. Let students interpret the chart. The chart indicates that Khrushchev has dealt less severely with deposed Party decision-makers than Stalin had done. Let students point out the different consequences of losing political power in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Teacher's Readings:

Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, pp. 120-121, 161, 164-173, 200, 219-220, 326, 337-338, 462, 482-485, 580, 590-591.

Schwartz, THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 52-76.

From Philip E. Mosely in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, April 12, 1964, an article describing the characteristics of Khrushchev's successor, written upon the occasion of Khrushchev's 70th birthday.


Natural death or retirement
Unnatural death or removal
1917
1923
1953
1957
1960
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
Lenin
Stalin
Joint Leadership
Khrushchev

HOW SOVIET LEADERS MAINTAIN PUBLIC SUPPORT

Subject Objective: To know

1. the meaning of the term totalitarian society.
2. that interest groups and private institutions are permitted to exist as long as they contribute to the overall goals set up by leaders.
3. that Soviet leaders are just as interested in "public opinion" as are their counterparts in the United States but in order to mold opinion rather than be guided by it.
4. that radio, television, movies, literature, art, music, and theater are judged not by their values as entertainment but by their contribution toward fulfilling the goals of the state.

Skill Objectives:

Application 3.00
Analysis 4.00

Procedures:

1. Use the first 15 minutes of class for the objective exam.
2. Do you think there are special interest groups in the Soviet Union. (labor unions, chess clubs, professional organizations, etc.) What is the relationship between the Soviet leaders and these groups? Why is it important that Soviet leaders know what the Soviet people want? Can the Soviet government afford to ignore public opinion?
3. What is the meaning of the word totalitarianism? How can Russia have a totalitarian society and still have separate interest groups?
4. Are Soviet leaders interested in public opinion? What is the purpose of this interest? What is the meaning of "News" in the Soviet Union?
5. How do Soviet leaders use mass media to mold public opinion and control interest groups?
6. What chance is there to form effective opposition groups against the Communist Party in the USSR?
7. Contrast the functions of interest groups and of mass media in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Teacher's Reading:

"Persuasion Techniques" in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 82-85.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 20-27
THIRD OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
I. Chicago is a A) state B) city C) country D) continent	I. A ~~B~~ C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

Questions I to 4 refer to the following descriptions of typical citizens. Warning: some answers may be used more than once and some not at all.

I. Joseph Sabatini, 35 years old, mill worker, member of United Steel Workers, high school education.

II. Helen Latsado, 50 years old, college degree, married to a lawyer.

III. James Smith, 55 years old, Methodist, college education, businessman.

IV. Harrison Brown, Negro, unemployed, grade school education, 22 years old.

(It is quite clear that there are many exceptions to the rules about political activity. Based on the statistics provided you in your lesson, however, answer the following questions according to the patterns of political behavior the above individuals are most likely to follow.)

1. Which of the above are most likely to vote Republican?
   A. I and II
   [✓ B.] II and III
   C. I and IV
   D. II and IV

2. Which of the above are most likely to vote Democratic?
   [✓ A.] I and IV
   B. II and III
   C. III and IV
   D. I and II

3. Which of the above is most likely to be active in politics?
   A. I
   B. II
   [✓ C.] III
   D. IV

4. Which of the above is least likely to be active in politics?
   A. I
   B. II
   C. III
   [✓ D.] IV

5. Which of the following statements best describes the relationship between Soviet leaders and Soviet citizens?
   A) One's ability to lead in the USSR depends upon the Soviet citizens' willingness to follow.
   [✓ B)] A Soviet leader maintains his position by choking off all possible opposition.
   C) Soviet leaders are those men who have proved themselves to be the most dedicated Marxists.
   D) Soviet leaders are able to rule only so long as they have the support of the army and the secret police.

Questions 6-11 all refer to the election systems in the U.S. and the USSR.

A. Describes elections in the USSR
B. Describes elections in the U.S.
C. Describes elections in the U.S. and the USSR
D. Describes elections in neither country

6. Nearly all of the eligible voters cast their votes at an election. A

7. One of the purposes of elections is to honor those who have shown great zeal in fulfilling specific goals of the state. A

8. The major purpose is to decide who will govern during the coming term. B

9. The weeks preceding an election are marked by vigorous campaigning to make the candidates known and to clarify the issue. B

10. Elections provide an opportunity for each citizen to participate in the governing process. C

11. Elections tend to bring issues to a final settlement. D

12. Which of the following statements best describes the Soviet definition of "news"?

    A. Will it sell papers?
    B. Will it stimulate debate?
    *C. Will it advance the goals of the state?
    D. Will it be interesting?

13. Which one of the following methods used by John F. Kennedy to win the top leadership position in the United States was least influential in winning Nikita Khrushchev the top leadership position in the Soviet Union?
    A. Control of a political party
    B. Support of non-party interest groups
    *C. Winning a majority of the popular vote
    D. Winning support of the top party leaders

Questions 14-21 refer to the following list. Warning: some answers may be used more than once and some not at all.

A. Describes only the Russian Communist Party
B. Describes only American political parties
C. Describes both American parties and the Russian Communist Party
D. Describes the parties of neither the United States nor the USSR

14. Nominates candidates for elections. C

15. Conducts a vigorous campaign for its own candidates. B

16. Identifies major issues for political debate. C

17. When not in power, acts as a critic of the party in power. B

18. Encourages workers to ever greater efficiency. A

19. Enrolls as members only those that subscribe to a given set of ideas. A

20. In fact attracts only the dregs and lowest elements of its society. D

21. Transmit official policy to the public. A

Questions 22-24 refer to the political tactics which are described below.

I. "Yes, the President is making a trip throughout the nation but it is in the interest of conservation and strictly non-political."
II. "That's right, at two o'clock the band concert starts; at three o'clock the rally begins; and the testimonial dinner starts at six P.M."
III. "In recognition of your exceptional efforts to boost milk production, the nominating committee had decided to place your name on the ballot for the coming election."
IV. "You say I've lost? That's impossible! I had the support of the army!"

22. Which of the quotations illustrates the advantage the incumbent has over the challenger in an American election?
[✓ A. I]
B. II
C. III
D. IV

23. Which of the quotations indicates a feature of the Soviet election system?
A. I
B. II
[✓ C. III]
D. IV

24. Which of the quotations indicate features of the American system of elections?
A. I and III
B. II and IV
C. III and II
[✓ D. I and II]

25. Which of the following would be the most difficult to prove?
A. That John F. Kennedy received many votes from northern cities.
[✓ B. That Richard Nixon lost the election because of the TV debates.]
C. That Richard Nixon received most of his votes from the mid-western states.
D. That John F. Kennedy received many votes in strongholds of minority groups.

HOW DO FORMAL RULES AFFECT SOVIET AND AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. leaders in the Soviet Union and United States must deal with the same four kinds of restrictions on their actions: formal rules, informal rules, ideology and ethics.
2. the Soviet Union and United States both have Constitutions.
3. the United States is a constitutional government because federal, state, and local governments must operate within the bounds of the Constitution. In the Soviet Union, the Party is supreme.
4. the Soviet Union is not a constitutional government because the Soviet leaders are not bound by its provisions.
5. formal rules are of little importance in understanding the true functioning of the Soviet political system.

Skill Objective:
Application 3.00

Procedures:

1. What are we going to cover in this entire unit? (Formal rules and informal checks on behavior of political leaders in Soviet Union and United States)
2. What four kinds of restrictions govern political leaders in Soviet Union and United States? (Above #1) Which of these restrictions are we studying today? (Formal rules: Constitutions) What is a Constitution?
3. Do both countries (US & USSR) have Constitutions?
4. Let's examine the relationship between these countries and their respective constitutions.
   a. How can the US Constitution be amended? What provisions does the Soviet constitution have for amendment? Is this procedure always followed?
   b. What is the meaning of the term sovereignty? Where does sovereignty lie in the US? In the USSR?
   c. Does the US constitution provide for political parties? What does the Soviet constitution say about the Communist Party?
   d. What guarantees are there concerning individual rights in the US Constitution? In the Soviet Constitution? Give examples of recent US government action upholding individuals' rights. (Civil Rights Act, 1964) Are individuals permitted to express opposition to the government in the USSR?
   e. What do we mean by separation of powers? How does this operate in US? Does the constitution of the USSR provide for separation of powers? Is the separation of powers a real factor in Soviet government? (Teacher note: do not concentrate on separation of powers in the United States. This theme is picked up as a full lesson in Reading 33.)
5. From these statements determine which is supreme in the U.S., the Constitution or political parties.
6. Are Soviet leaders bound by the Constitution?
7. Is the Soviet Union a Constitutional government? Is the United States a Constitutional government?

Teacher's reading: Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, Chapter II
Plano and Greenberg, AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, p. 20

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 29

HOW INFORMAL RULES AFFECT AMERICAN AND SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the Senate is guided by both formal rules and informal rules, referred to here as folkways.
2. among the informal rules of the Senate are
   - a. new members are expected to serve a period of apprenticeship before becoming very active.
   - b. a senator should give first priority to legislative work.
   - c. a senator should specialize rather than try to be expert in all matters.
   - d. a senator should never permit political disagreements to appear to influence personal feelings.
   - e. a senator may expect assistance from other senators if he provides help when they need it.

Skill Objectives:

Production of a unique communication 5.10
Application 3.00
Analysis 4.00

Procedure:

1. Administer the essay examination. Allow the students twenty minutes to work on the examination.
2. Devote the rest of the hour working with the Matthews tape. The total running time is ten minutes. The tape contains quotations that demonstrate the "folkways of the Senate." Use the tape in conjunction with the transparency that lists the Senate folkways.
3. A suggested procedure is to play each quotation; then ask a student which of the five criteria apply to the quotation; why did he choose the answer he did? Ask a student to define the folkway and write the definition in the transparency. Then proceed to the next quotation, and so on.

Materials:

Essay examination
Tape recording
One transparency

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 391-398

SCRIPT OF TAPE: FOLKWAYS OF THE U.S. SENATE *

* From Donald R. Matthews, interviews with Senators illustrating particular folkways of the Senate as contained in an article in THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, LIII, 4 (December, 1959).

FOLKWAYS of the U.S. SENATE

1. Apprenticeship

2. Legislative Work

3. Specialization

4. Courtesy

5. Reciprocity

6. Institutional Patriotism

ETHICS AND POLITICS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. political leaders are constantly faced with issues which involve ethical choices.
2. these issues often present alternatives of standing on principle or following the path of political expediency.
3. many issues are not black-white but gray; the ethical issue is not always clear but a choice still has to be made.
4. when Senator Ross chose to stand on principle, he committed political suicide.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements 4.10
Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

Essay examination

Procedures:

1. Ask students to describe the Ross case. Be sure that they understand that the House impeaches and the Senate tries cases.
2. Did Ross do the right thing? Why do you think so? Rose other ethical problems for students, such as the question raised in the introduction about whether a liberal southern senator should vote for an anti-lynching law. What would you do in a situation like this? Should you vote for the measure? Should you keep quiet? Should you ignore your own opinions and come out for the other side? Place this problem alongside that of Ross? Ross' decision meant defeat for the attempt to convict Johnson. If an anti-lynching bill would pass anyway, the vote of a southern senator would only assure his defeat on the next election but would not make a difference in legislation. Let students discuss the issue of when a politician should vote his principles and when he should not.
3. What happened to Ross? Was he punished in any way? Was the price he paid worth the gain?
4. Move to the general question of ethics and politics. Note that the majority of decisions are not simple black and white ones. The following examples are taken from the source listed under the teacher's reading add may be used as case studies to promote discussion of ethics and politics. Each case describes a real issue which arose when the author was the mayor of a city.
   a. A peacock farm on the edge of town kept neighbors awake for a month or so a year during the peacock mating season. The city government was asked by the neighbors to see to it that the birds were quieted. Ethical question: Is a temporary irritation--including loss of sleep--for 10 families worth the destruction of a hobby and a partial livelihood for one person?
   b. The best detective on the chronically underpaid police force is suspected of taking protection money from some local two-bit gamblers. The evidence is too vague and unsubstantial to stand in court. Ethical question: Is the possibility of

the evidence being correct important enough to warrant a substantial investigation, with a consequent probable loss in efficiency and morale in the police department during and long after the investigation, a certain loss in public confidence in the whole force, and the ever-present possibility that the rumor was planted by a crank? And out of the many pressing issues coming across the mayor's desk, how much time and effort does such an investigation warrant from the mayor himself?

c. Two mayors in four years happened to have lived on Wyllys Avenue. Wyllys Avenue desperatedly needed repaving. But so did some other streets in the city. Ethical question: Should Wyllys Avenue be paved, granted a heavy presumption that many citizens would claim that the mayor had "taken care of himself"?

5. Inform the students that the essay exam scheduled for the following day (Day 31) will cover the entire eight weeks work on leadership.

Teacher's Readings:

Bailey, Stephen K., "Ethics and the Politician" in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 430-438.

Lefever and Hohenstein, PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, Chapter 13, pp. 155-164.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS LESSON PLAN: DAY 31

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. "Ideology is the 'way of life' of a people reflected in terms of their political systems, economic order, social goals and moral values."
2. political leaders are influenced in their activities by their ideology or political philosophy.
3. there is a difference between the dominant ideologies of the United States and that of the Soviet Union.
4. successful communication between opposing leaders depends upon understanding each other's ideological mind set.

Skill Objectives:

1. Production of a unique communication 5.10
2. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

Essay examination

Procedures:

1. Distribute the essay exam. Since this exam will cover the complete leadership section of the course, the exam will have a twenty-five minute time limit.
2. What is the meaning of the team ideology?
3. Let's investigate Mr. Kennedy's speech. Can you pick out any phrases that seem to reflect American ideals? What ideals are these? (As each characteristic ideal is identified, teacher should list them on the overhead projector.)
4. Let's investigate Mr. Khrushchev's speech? Do any of his phrases sound ideologically oriented? (The same teacher procedure should be used here.)
5. Compare the two ideologies. Note the differences and similarities.
6. What problems do these ideological theories create as leaders of one country seek to understand and to communicate with the leaders of another country.

Teacher's Readings:

Plano and Greenberg, AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, p. 8.

Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto" in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 2-11.

Myrdal, Gunnar, "American Ideals and the American Conscience" in POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, p. 36-43.

Smith, T.V., "Our Issue with Russia" in POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, pp. 43-45.

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 266-268.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS
ESSAY EXAMINATION IV

READINGS I-31

For the past eight weeks we have been studying political leadership in primitive societies, in the United States, and in the Soviet Union. In each of these societies, our approach to the study of leadership has been organized around three basic questions. This approach was used because it represented a systematic method of examining political systems.

Our intention has been to train you in the use of an analytic method. Equipped with this approach, students should be able to apply it to the study of leadership in any society.

The examination today is designed to test your understanding of this method of examining political leadership.

This essay exam will last 25 minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both! Follow the directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper.

1. Next year you will be asked by your teacher to describe the leaders of the French Revolution. There are so many different leaders that it will be difficult to examine them unless you apply the methods you have learned this semester.

   In a three paragraph essay, list and describe the three basic questions you should ask in order to understand leadership in the French Revolution. Each paragraph should contain: a statement of the question, reasons why the question is applicable, and the results you hope to obtain by using this question.

2. Write a brief essay of not more than three paragraphs in which you describe the three most important analytical questions useful in the analysis of political leadership. Each paragraph should contain: a statement of the question, a discussion of the significance of the question, and the reasons this question and its methods were applicable to the study of political leadership.

FEDERALISM AND ITS EFFECT ON DECISION MAKING

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the United States has a federal system of government in that power is divided between the states and the national government.
2. the relationship between states and local government is essentially a unitary pattern, that is, that county, city, a and township units were established by, and are largely under the control of, the states.
3. in our federal system there are areas reserved to the federal or the state level; areas in which both have authority (concurrant powers), and areas in which states cooperate with each other.
4. states have three basic obligations to each other: to observe full faith and credit for the acts of other states, to treat citizens of other states on a basis of equality with their own citizens, and to extradite citizens of other states.

Skill Objectives:

Derivation of a set of abstract relations 5.30
Analyses of relationships 4.20
Analysis of elements 4.10
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. The teacher should give a brief introduction to the day's work by commenting on the Articles of Confederation. In addition to describing the weaknesses of the Articles which dramatize the need for a new constitution and for federalism, the teacher should develop knowledge about the nature of confederations. (i.e. a league of states with complete sovereignty residing within states)
2. Students should now be given time to read the problem in Federalism that accompanies this lesson. This problem contains nine proposed suggestions that are to be incorporated in the draft of a new constitution. Discuss each suggestion. Examine its possible inclusion in the proposed constitution and its applicability to the theory of Federalism. Following are some discussion points and questions to guide the teacher.

Proposal #1: This is a Federal principle and it could be included in the constitution.

Proposal #2: Should the Chief Executive of a federal system be subject to the National Parliament? There is the danger here of the National Parliament, controlled by the islands, assuming complete authority. This would be contrary to the principle of Federalism.

Q Proposal #3: How can the national government check on itself? Would this lead to state control of the national parliament?

Proposal #4: The National Parliament should have more than request power. If it has only request power, its actions will have no effect on the member states. There is no real division of power suggested here.

Proposal #5: Definite restrictions exist here on the power of the national government. This is directly contrary to the Federal principle of the sovereignty of each government within its own realm.

Proposal #6: This proposal would be in keeping with the principle of Federalism except for point four. Shouldn't import duties be regulated by the government?

Proposal #7: This is a Federal principle and it could be included in the constitution.

Proposal #8: The national laws should be enforced by the national government.

Proposal #9: This is a Federal principle and it could be included in the constitution.

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 4

Plano and Greenberg, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY p. 30 (Federalism), p. 28 (confederation), p. 41 (unitary state)

Rogow, Arnold, "Federalism and Local Government" in GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, pp. 381-384

Anderson, William, "Federalism - Then and Now" in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 46-50

Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, "Federalism-Now" in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 50-53

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND ITS EFFECT ON DECISION MAKING

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the system of checks and balances was built into the Constitution to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful.
2. the original division of powers no longer holds the same meaning because each branch tends to extend its authority and to assume certain functions previously reserved to the other branches.
3. the state governments have also adopted a similar separation of power among the branches.

4. among many types of local government there is less emphasis upon checks and balances than on the state or national level.

Skill Objectives:

Translation 2.10
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Place on the overhead projector the transparency depicting the system of checks and balances. Ask a student to explain the significance of the direction of the lines drawn between the branches of the Federal Government.
2. Why did the authors of our Constitution deliberately build in these checks and balances? What was to be the function of each branch of the Federal Government?
3. Some authorities say that our Chief Executive is also our chief legislator. Is this in keeping with the principles of the separation of powers? Then why has this situation developed?
4. Do state governments have similar divisions of power?
5. What do we mean by the phrase "local government"?
6. Show the transparency depicting the organization of the county government. (Teachers outside of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, can make their own transparencies.) Is this organization good or bad? Can voters pinpoint responsibility?
7. Do local governments have this system of checks and balances today? (No) Why not? (In order to promote efficiency) Here the teacher should discuss the three main types of city government, the Mayor-Council type (strong mayor - weak mayor), the Commissioner type, and the Council-Manager or City-Manager type.

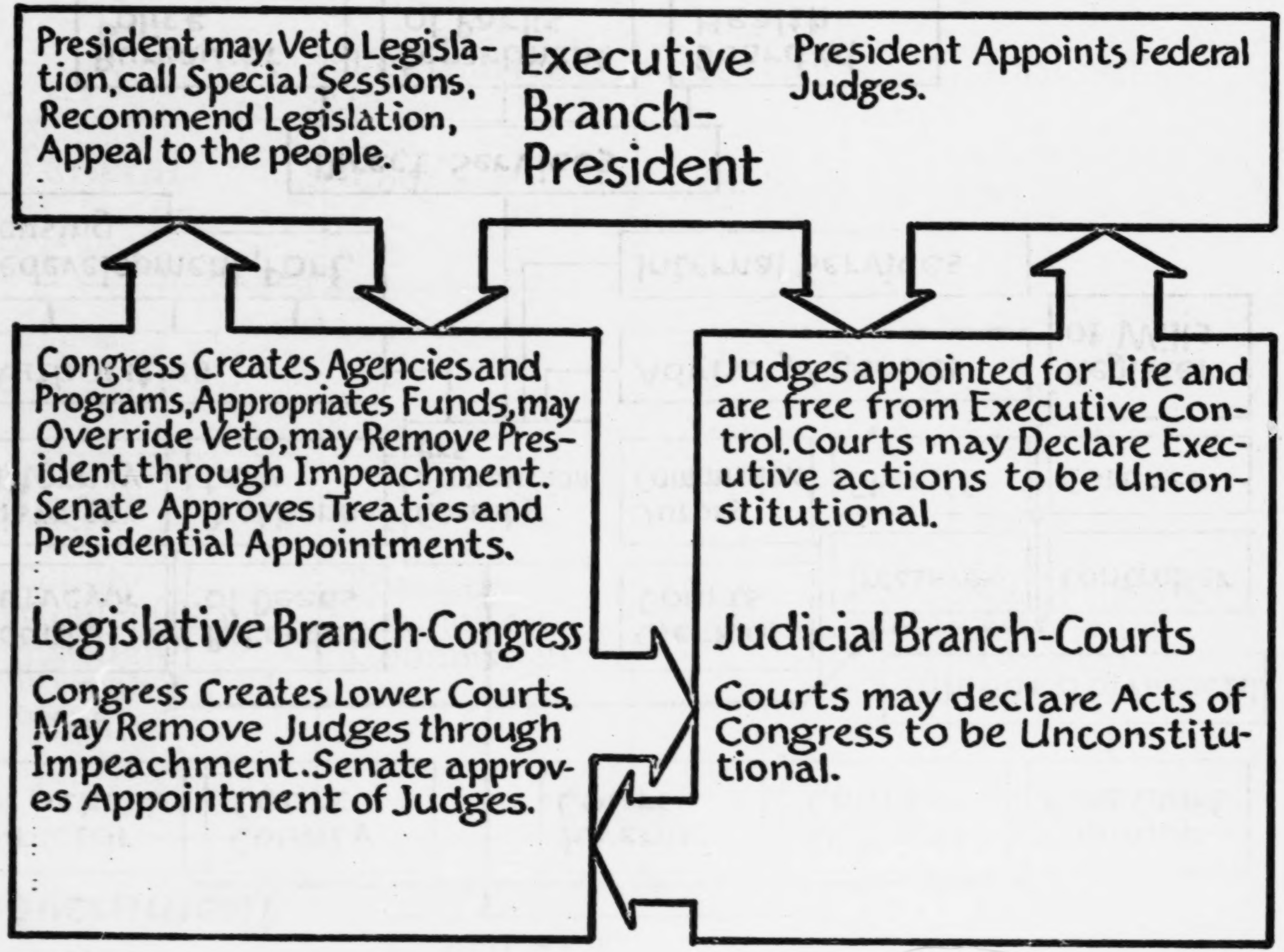
Materials:

two transparencies

Teacher's Readings:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 64-67, 70, 545-548
Morlan, Robert, CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE, AND CITY HALL, Chapter nine
League of Women Voters of Pittsburgh, PITTSBURGH GOVERNMENT

Checks and Balances in the U.S. Government



Executive Branch-President

President may Veto Legislation, call Special Sessions, Recommend Legislation, Appeal to the people.

President Appoints Federal Judges.

Legislative Branch-Congress

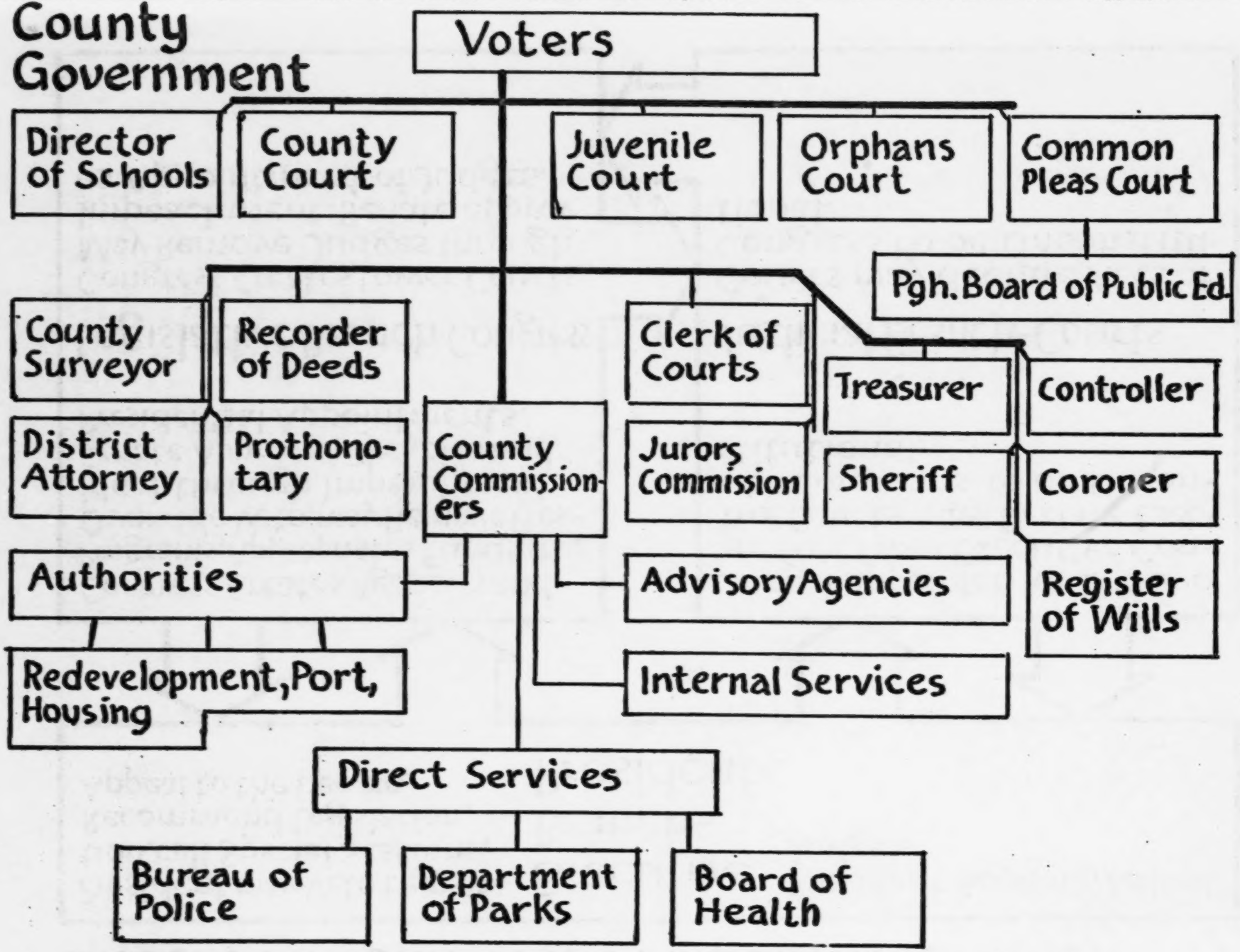
Congress Creates Agencies and Programs, Appropriates Funds, may Override Veto, may Remove President through Impeachment. Senate Approves Treaties and Presidential Appointments.

Congress Creates Lower Courts. May Remove Judges through Impeachment. Senate approves Appointment of Judges.

Judicial Branch-Courts

Judges appointed for Life and are free from Executive Control. Courts may Declare Executive actions to be Unconstitutional.

Courts may declare Acts of Congress to be Unconstitutional.


County Government
Voters
Director of Schools
County Court
Juvenile Court
Orphans Court
Common Pleas Court
Pgh. Board of Public Ed.
County Surveyor
Recorder of Deeds
District Attorney
Prothonotary
County Commissioners
Clerk of Courts
Jurors Commission
Treasurer
Sheriff
Controller
Coroner
Register of Wills
Authorities
Redevelopment, Port, Housing
Advisory Agencies
Internal Services
Direct Services
Bureau of Police
Department of Parks
Board of Health

Simplified Structure of U.S. Government

	Legislative	Executive	Judicial
Federal	Congress	President	Supreme Court and Federal Court System
State	Legislature	Governor	Supreme Court and State Court System
Local * County Municipality Borough Township Parish	Board or Council or Commission	Mayor City Manager	Court System Municipal County

* *Great Variety on Local Level to fit Nature of Local Situation*

EXECUTIVE DECISION MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF A FAILURE

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. decision making to be effective must be based on an objective, rational analysis of a problem.
2. the procedure of rational analysis should include the following steps involved in solving a problem of public policy:
   - A. Identify your goals
   - B. Identify alternative means of achieving these goals
   - C. Check the consequences of each alternative
   - D. Choose the means to achieve the goal which offers least bad consequences and the best results.
3. the decision to invade Cuba in 1961 was not based on problem solving techniques like this one.
4. the relative inexperience of Mr. Kennedy and his advisors led them to forsake their own misgivings and rely upon the evaluations of men who were emotionally involved in the operation.

Skill Objectives:
Knowledge of Methodology 1.25
Application 3.00

Procedures:

1. What happened at the Bay of Pigs? What three lessons did the author claim were taught by this failure?
2. Did Mr. Kennedy completely support this plan? Then why did he go through with it? Did the inexperience of the Chief Executive and his advisors have any effect on their decision to support the plan?
3. Why did the CIA and the Joint Chiefs of Staff make such an incorrect assessment of Castro's strength and of the Cuban people's willingness to revolt?
4. Place on the overhead projector the transparency which outlines the steps in a problem solving process. Discuss each step with the class.
5. Do you think such a rational system of thinking was employed in this case?
   Let's examine the reading for evidence. What was Mr. Kennedy's goal? (to free Cuba) How could he achieve this goal? (by invading Cuba) Did he have any alternative means to achieve this goal? (Possibly, but none were investigated.) Were the consequences of the failure of the invasion ever discussed? (Not fully.)
6. What conclusion can you make regarding the failure to use this rational analytical method of problem solving?
7. Who received criticism for this failure? (The president) Was this fair?

Materials:

Materials:

one transparency

Teacher's Reading:

Knebel, Fletcher, "Kennedy's Decisions: How He Makes Them" in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 257-264.

Alsop, Stewart, "The Lessons of the Cuban Disaster" in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 264-277.

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 565-570.

34

1. Identify goals

2. Identify means of achieving goals

3. Check consequences of alternative means

4. Choose means to achieve goals which offers least bad consequences

EXECUTIVE DECISION-MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF A SUCCESS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. decision-making is a complex process of searching out alternatives and weighing the probable consequences of various choices.
2. the first step in reaching a decision on Cuba was to decide who would be included in the decision-making process and what steps would be followed.
3. alternative actions were based on all the evidence available in order to calculate the possible consequences as accurately as possible.
4. the final decision was one which could be the basis for further actions or decisions; in other words, it did not close out other alternatives.

Skill Objectives:

Knowledge of Methodology 1.25
Application 3.00
Analysis of Elements 4.10

Procedures:

1. Pass out the objective exam. Require the students to adhere to the 15 minute time limit.
2. Begin discussion of the reading. How can you account for the success obtained in this second Cuban decision? Were there any factors contributing to success present in this crisis that were absent in the invasion decision? (Yes, the President had reliable information, and his advisors were able to objectively assess the problem. The President and his advisors were more experienced. The President knew the capabilities of his advisors.) What was the first decision to be made? (How to set up the decision-making process)
3. Who were the chief advisors to the President in the crisis? Why were these specific men brought in to assist in reaching the final decision? What special talents did they offer? Why wasn't the Cabinet used?
4. Ask the students to list the four steps involved in the problem solving method of rational analysis. List these on the overhead projector.
   a. definition of goals
   b. identifying alternative means of achieving these goals
   c. check the consequences of each alternative
   d. choose the solution most likely to meet your goals and implying the least bad consequences

   Apply this method of problem-solving to the missile decision. What were the President's goals? What four alternatives did the policy-makers pose for the President? What were the major issues to consider before choosing one alternative over another? What were the logical consequences of each? Why did Kennedy decide to impose a blockade?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 440-443, 565-570

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 28-35
FOURTH OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
	1. Chicago is a A) state B) city C) country D) continent	1. A ~~B~~ C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

Questions 1 to 5 refer to the following phrases concerning our federal system of government:

I. The control over foreign relations
II. The denial of free speech and assembly
III. The requirement to give "full faith and credit"
IV. The power to tax
V. The right to establish voting requirements within the limits of the Constitution

1. Which of the above powers is reserved to the states?
A. II B. III C. IV *D. V

2. Which of the above powers is an example of a concurrent power?
A. I B. II C. III *D. IV

3. Which of the above powers is denied by the Constitution to both the states and the national government?
A. I *B. II C. III D. IV

4. Which of the above powers is an example of the kinds of obligations and recognitions that states owe to each other?
A. I B. II *C. III D. V

5. Which of the above powers is assigned to the national government by our Constitution?

[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

6. The principle of separation of powers, as implied by provisions of our federal constitution, is a direct expression of

[✓ A. the fear of absolute power residing in one office.]
B. the desire to provide definite limits on sovereignty.
C. the American ideal of democratic government.
D. the belief that competition produces the best results.

Questions 7 through 11 refer to the following terms and phrases. Some of these may be used more than once.

I. Impeachment
II. Veto
III. Approve Appointments
IV. Declare Laws Unconstitutional
V. Approve Treaties
VI. Power of Appointment
VII. Pardons and Reprieves

7. Which of the above terms or phrases involves a Congressional check on both the Judicial and Executive branches?

[✓ A. I] B. II C. IV D. VII

8. Which of the above terms or phrases involves an Executive check on the Judicial branch?

A. I and II B. III and IV C. V and VI [✓ D. VI and VII]

9. Which of the above terms or phrases is a Judicial check on the Legislative branch of government?

[✓ A. IV] B. V C. VI D. VII

10. Which of the above terms or phrases constitute Congressional checks on the Executive branch?

[✓ A. I, III, V] B. II, IV, VI C. III, V, VII D. II, IV, VII

11. Which of the above terms or phrases are Executive checks on the Legislative branch?

A. I, III B. II, IV [✓ C. II, VI] D. III, VII

Questions 12 to 14 refer to the following statement:

"No political truth is certainly of greater intrinsic value, or is stamped with the authority of more enlightened patrons of liberty, than that. . .the accumulation of all the powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands. . .may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

12. Which of the following would seem to remedy the fear expressed in the statement above?
    A. Unitary government
    B. Federalism
    [✓ C. System of Checks and Balances]
    D. Less government interference with business

13. The author of the above statement would most likely find his aspiration in
    A. The United Nations
    B. Relationship between states and city government
    C. Primitive societies
    [✓ D. American national government]

14. Which of the following duties of the President best illustrates the type of safeguard which the author wants?
    A. The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces
    B. The President is the political leader of his party
    [✓ C. The President signs or vetoes acts of Congress]
    D. The President is the chief diplomat of the United States

Questions 15-18 refer to the following statements. Warning: some answers may be used more than once and some not at all.

I. Mr. President, yesterday at the American Legion convention in New York the esteemed junior senator from Wisconsin presented an address which should be read by all Americans. If there are no objections I should like to request permission that it be placed in the Congressional Record.

II. Senator, I cannot in good conscience vote for your bill when it comes to the floor of the Senate. Nevertheless, I shall be absent the day it comes to a vote and will, therefore, not be called upon to vote against it.

III. "When I first came to the Senate, I was given little or no choice in committee assignments. I accepted what was left over. Now in my third term I have been appointed to the Foreign Relations Committee, my first choice from the beginning."

IV. "Senator McCarthy was permitted great freedom to conduct his investigations, but when he attacked the Senate itself, he was quickly censured by that body."

15. Which of the above speakers is referring to the observance of institutional patriotism in the Senate?
    A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

16. Which of the speakers is referring to Senatorial courtesy?
    [✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

17. Which of the speakers is representing the practice of reciprocity in the Senate?
    A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

18. Which of the speakers demonstrates the policy of apprenticeship in the Senate?
    A. I   B. II   [✓ C.] III   D. IV

Questions 19 and 20 refer to the following quotation:
"All governments and all private institutions must be designed to promote, protect and defend the integrity and dignity of the individual."

19. The above statement is a good example of:
    [✓ A.] ideology
    B. formal rules
    C. sovereignty
    D. the principle of separation of powers

20. Which of the following quotations is implied by the above statement?
    A. "The state is the exploiter of the working class."
    B. "That government is best which governs least."
    [✓ C.] "The very reason for the existence of government lies in the governed."
    D. "My party first, my party last, my party above all."

21. Which of the following features of the Constitution of the USSR is not found in the United States Constitution?
    [✓ A.] provisions for political parties
    B. listing of individual rights
    C. provisions for amendments
    D. statements about sovereignty

22. Which of the following statements best explains the President's final choice of alternatives in the Cuban crisis?
    A. The blockade offered the opportunity to end once and for all our trouble with Cuba.
    B. A blockade is a moral and legal offensive weapon sanctioned by the United Nations.
    [✓ C.] The blockade offered the opportunity to relieve the present danger while minimizing the threat of creating a more serious crisis.
    D. The American public would be more likely to accept the idea of a blockade.

Questions 23 to 25 refer to the four alternatives listed below which were available to the President during the Cuban missile crisis.

I. Do nothing
II. Bomb the bases
III. Invade the island
IV. Blockade the ports

23. Which of the above alternatives posed the greatest danger to our national pride and ultimately our national security?
*A. I B. II C. III D. IV

24. Which of the above alternatives was rejected because it offered the least freedom in which to operate, lacked the opportunity for surprise, and might provoke Khrushchev to a nuclear attack?
A. I B. II *C. III D. IV

25. Which of the above alternatives seemed both to offer the most flexibility to the United States and to offer Khrushchev the most graceful retreat?
A. I B. II C. III *D. IV

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING: HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. In order to become a law each bill must pass through certain formal stages.
2. few bills introduced actually become law.
3. there is a difference in the form and function between a bicameral and unicameral legislature.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

Transparency

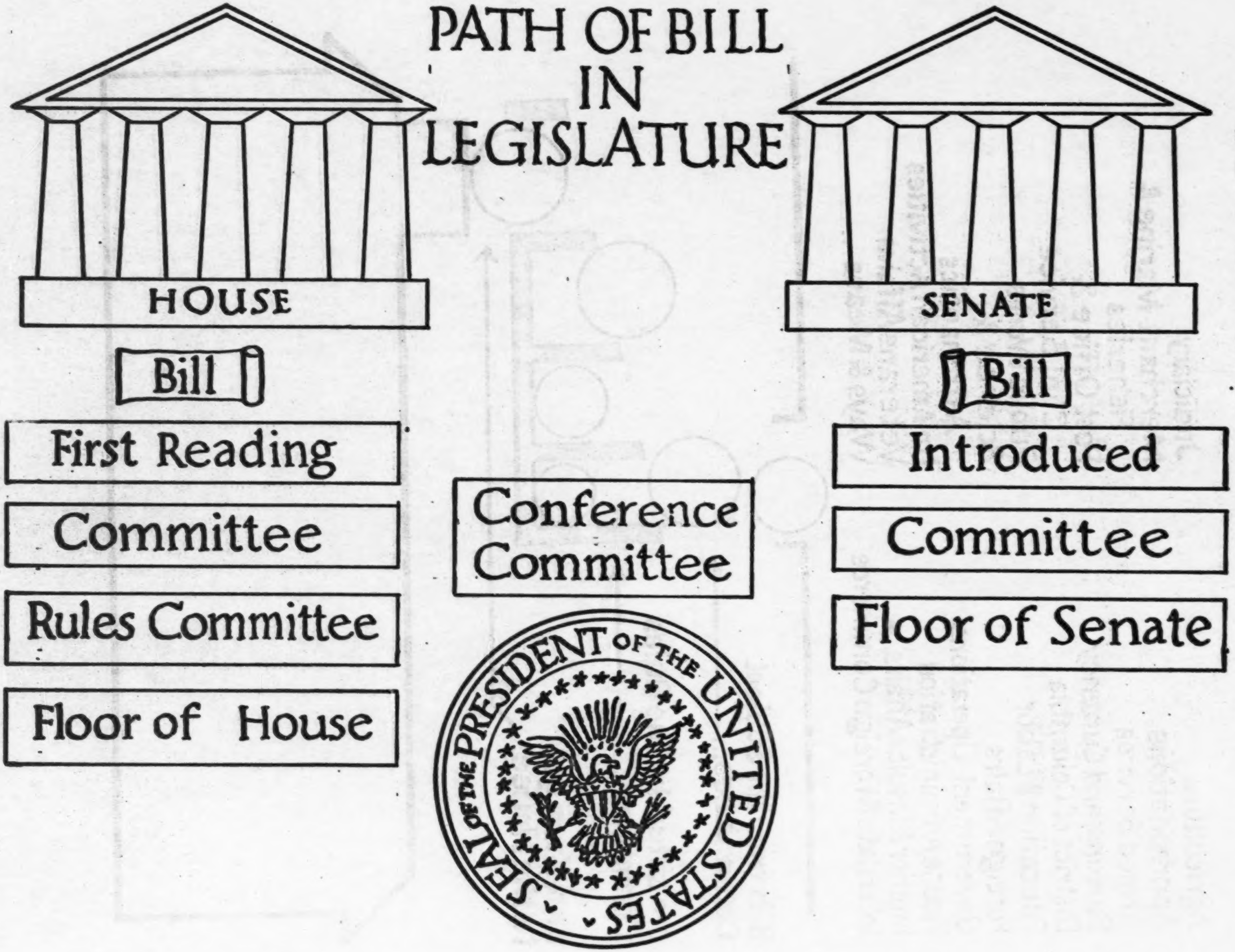
Procedures:

1. Before discussion begins, pass out the ten page handouts that will be used for Lesson #37. Inform the students that each sheet contains two documents. These twenty documents duplicate the twenty steps that were necessary to transform this bill into a law. These documents have been deliberately put out of order. The students' assignment for tomorrow will be to arrange the documents in their proper legislative sequence. They may cut the pages in half in order to make the arrangement easier. Instruct the students to leave the alphabetical identification on each document. This will serve as an extra check on the correction of their arrangement. Point out to the students that even though bills may originate in the House of Representatives or the Senate, for our purposes we will assume that this bill has originated in the House.
2. In your reading for today you were introduced to Congressman Smith and you observed the process by which a bill can become a law. Let's investigate this process. Why did Mr. Smith wait until his third term to introduce this bill when he originally ran on a platform supporting just such a measure? Why did Smith meet with the President? How did Smith prepare his bill for introduction? Why did the Department of Labor have a bill prepared?
3. Let's follow Mr. Smith's bill through the law-making process. (Use the prepared transparency which portrays the legislative process. Discuss, through questioning, the way in which Mr. Smith's bill was passed. As each step is discussed, have the students locate the appropriate spot on the transparency.) The procedure used should be as follows: How did Mr. Smith introduce his bill? (As the student answers, have him locate the appropriate spot on the transparency.) What was the next step taken with the bill? (Sent to Committee - student answers and locates spot.) What did the Committee do with the bill? What other possible actions could they have taken on the bill? The teacher should use this procedure to discuss the entire legislative process.

4. Based on this discussion, would you say that our laws are easily made? Could you say that in order to become a law a bill must pass through a lengthy formal process? Do you think that there are many bills which never become laws?
5. One of the reasons that our lawmaking process is so lengthy is because we have a bicameral legislature. What is a bicameral legislature; a unicameral legislature? Can you pick out some good and bad points of each?
6. Have the students make generalizations about the lawmaking process in the United States on the basis of the classroom discussion.

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 406-407, Chapter 16, Plano and Greenberg, AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, pp. 123, 151.

PATH OF BILL IN LEGISLATURE



HOUSE
SENATE
Bill
Bill
SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE

- First Reading
- Committee
- Rules Committee
- Floor of House

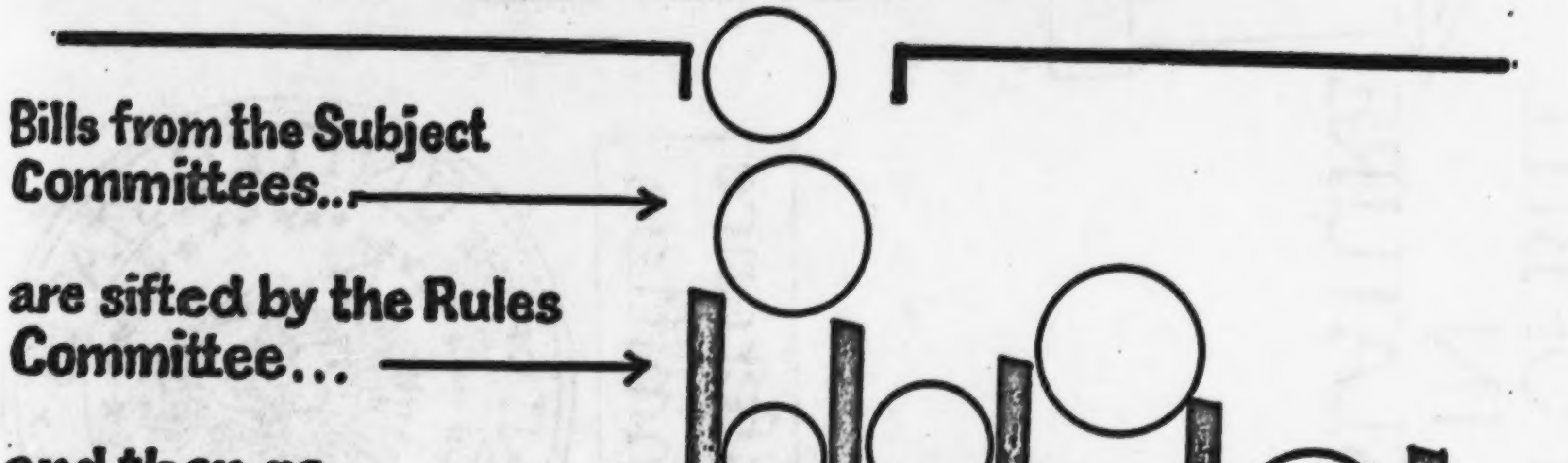
Conference Committee

SENATE

- Introduced
- Committee
- Floor of Senate

The Flow of Bills in the House

Agriculture
Appropriations
Armed Services
Banking and Currency
District of Columbia
Education & Labor
Foreign Affairs
Government Operations
House Administration
Interior & Insular Affairs
Interstate & Foreign Commerce
Judiciary
Merchant Marine & Fisheries
Post Office & Civil Service
Public Works
Science & Astronautics
Un-American Activities
Veterans Affairs
Ways & Means



Bills from the Subject Committees...

are sifted by the Rules Committee...

and then go to the House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- 1961

A

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am transmitting herewith, for consideration by the Congress, a draft of legislation to carry out the recommendation contained in my May twenty-fifth Message, for the establishment of a strengthened and enlarged disarmament agency to make an intensified effort to develop acceptable political and technical alternatives to the present arms race.

For the past five months, Mr. John J. McCloy, my advisor on disarmament matters, has been conducting, at my request, an extensive study of the governmental effort and organization necessary to give effect to our national purpose in this field. He has had available to him the results of searching studies by individual members and committees of the Congress, the agencies of Government principally concerned, national and international organizations and eminent private individuals. During the course of his study, Mr. McCloy has consulted closely with Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, Chairman Seaborg and other high officials. All of these studies and consultations have inescapably pointed to the conclusion that a new effort, considerably larger than our present effort, in terms of size, range of skills and authority will be necessary. This can best be accomplished by the creation of a new United States agency.

Following Mr. McCloy's recommendations, I am therefore proposing that a new United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security be established. Enactment of the proposed legislation will permit this agency to deal broadly with the whole range of disarmament matters, including research, policies, and programs.

The proposed legislation provides that the Director of the new agency function under the direction of the President and the Secretary of State. This arrangement will permit coordination of disarmament matters within the purview of the various agencies; it will give special recognition to the need for intermeshing disarmament policies and programs with the broad conduct of foreign affairs; and it will provide a focal point at the highest level of Government for the consideration of disarmament matters.

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. McCloy describing the legislation in more detail.

Sincerely yours,

Honorable Sam Rayburn
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE, 1961

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

B

THE WHITE HOUSE
(NEW YORK, N. Y.)

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT ON SIGNING H.R.9118, AN ACT TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY (AT THE CARLYLE HOTEL IN NEW YORK CITY)

With the signing of H.R. 9118, there is created the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This Act symbolizes the importance the United States places on arms control and disarmament in its foreign policy.

The creation for the first time by Act of Congress of a special organization to deal with arms control and disarmament matters emphasizes the high priority that attaches to our efforts in this direction.

Our ultimate goal, as the Act points out, is a world free from war and free from the dangers and burdens of armaments in which the use of force is subordinated to the rule of law and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully. It is a complex and difficult task to reconcile through negotiation the many security interests of all nations to achieve disarmament, but the establishment of this Agency will provide new and better tools for this effort.

I am pleased and heartened by the bipartisan support this bill enjoyed in the Congress. The leaders of both political parties gave encouragement and assistance. The new Agency brings renewed hope for agreement and progress in the critical battle for the survival of mankind

C.P.S.

C

H. R. 9118—9

United States Code; entertainment and official courtesies to the extent authorized by appropriation; expenditures for training and study; expenditures in connection with participation in international conferences for the purposes of this Act; and expenses in connection with travel of personnel outside the United States, including transportation expenses of dependents, household goods, and personal effects, and expenses authorized by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, not otherwise provided for.

APPROPRIATION

Sec. 49. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $10,000,000 to remain available until expended, to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(b) Funds appropriated pursuant to this section may be allocated or transferred to any agency for carrying out the purposes of this Act. Such funds shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with authority granted in this Act, or under authority governing the activities of the agencies to which such funds are allocated or transferred.

REPORT TO CONGRESS

Sec. 50. The Director shall submit to the President, for transmittal to the Congress, not later than January 31 of each year, a report concerning activities of the Agency.

John W. McCormack

Speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved -
12:45 P.M. SEP 26 1961
New York City - New York,

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Carlyle Hotel

D

87th Congress } **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** { **Report**
1st Session } { **No. 1263**

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT

1961.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Morgan, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 9118]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a United States Arms Control Agency, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Arms Control and Disarmament Act".

PURPOSE

Sec. 2. An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments; in which the use of force has been subordinated to the rule of law; and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully. It is the purpose of this Act to provide impetus toward this goal by creating a new agency of peace to deal with the problem of reduction and control of armaments looking toward ultimate world disarmament.

Arms control and disarmament policy, being an important aspect of foreign policy, must be consistent with national security policy as a whole. The formulation and implementation of United States arms control and

C.P.S.

E

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 7936

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

, 1961

Mr. MORGAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

A BILL

To establish a United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Disarmament Act for World Peace and Security".

PURPOSE

SEC. 2. An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments; in which the use of force has been

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37, 2

F

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 9118

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1961

Mr. MORGAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

A BILL

To establish a United States Arms Control Agency.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Arms Control Act".

PURPOSE

SEC. 2. An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments; in which the use of force has been

C.P.S.

G

Union Calendar No. 501

87th CONGRESS
1st Session

H. R. 9118

[Report No. 1165]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1961

Mr. Morgan introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

1961

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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A BILL

To establish a United States Arms Control Agency.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Arms Control Act".

PURPOSE

Sec. 2. An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments; in which the use of force has been

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37, 3

H

TO ESTABLISH A UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H.R. 7936 and H.R. 9118

1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1961

I

C.P.S.

87TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } { No. 1165

ESTABLISHING A U.S. ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

SEPTEMBER 19, 1961.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MORGAN, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 9118]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

This legislation, providing for the establishment of a U.S. Arms Control Agency, does not reflect any intention that the United States give a higher priority to disarmament than to defense, or that we intend to disarm in the face of a military threat.

The United States believes that the day will come when it will be possible to assure our own security and world peace with only a fraction of the manpower and the resources now devoted to military functions. It has been and will continue to be our policy to hasten the realization of this objective.

At the same time we do not intend to disarm when such a course will endanger our security.

The horrors of nuclear warfare, combined with the existence of the United Nations to focus world opinion on arms control and disarmament and to facilitate negotiation, assure that the United States will be increasingly concerned with problems of the limitation, reduction, and control of armaments.

These problems are complex and highly technical, involving considerations of scientific development, foreign policy, and military strategy. We can best assure that our security will not be endangered if we are able to bring to bear on these problems all of the pertinent knowledge and skill which we possess.

J

37, 4

Calendar No. 864

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2180

[Report No. 882]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

1961

Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. WILEY, Mr. COOPER, Mr. HART, Mr. CLARK, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. CASE of New Jersey, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. PELL, Mr. PASTORE, and Mr. PROXMIRE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Government Operations

1961

The Committee on Government Operations discharged, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

1961

Reported by Mr. HUMPHREY, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To establish a United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Disarmament Act for World Peace and Security".

K

Congressional Record, 1961

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 9118, to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency, which was read twice by its title.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, this bill was only recently passed by the House of Representatives.

I move that all after the enacting clause of the bill be stricken out, and that there be inserted in lieu thereof the text of Senate bill 2180, to establish a U.S. Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H.R. 9118) was read the third time and passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the title to H.R. 9118 will be amended to read "to establish a U.S. Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security."

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment, request a conference thereon with the House of Representatives, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. WILEY, and Mr. HICKENLOOPER the conferees on the part of the Senate.

L

Congressional Record, 1961

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to add a word to what has been said. The Senator from Louisiana could not be present at this time. He is greatly interested in this matter. He is concerned that perhaps the wording we have added weakened the provision as he offered it in the Foreign Relations Committee and as it was agreed to on the part of the Senate. Personally, I did not feel it has the same effect the Senator from Louisiana felt it had. The big difference between the House and the Senate was how much of the knowledge or information obtained by a private individual in connection with inventions or patents that may have been developed while he was employed by the Government had to be divulged to the other side. I felt the language we adopted provided full and fair consideration. However, the Senator from Louisiana does not feel that way. I have assured him, as has the Senator from Minnesota, as has the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. FULBRIGHT, who, unfortunately, had to leave before we took up the conference report, that if the language proves to weaken the provision, we shall certainly join with the Senator from Louisiana at the first opportunity in an effort to get the language restored in such a way that it will do the job intended.

We did not retain the Agency completely within the Department of State, as the Senate had it; nor did we retain it as a completely independent agency, as the House had it. We did give it autonomy and a high degree of independence. We gave the Director the right to report directly to the President and made him the principal adviser to the President on arms control and disarmament matters; but, likewise, placed the Agency under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of State, because of its implications in foreign policy.

I believe we worked out a very good solution, and I hope the Senate will approve the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

M

Congressional Record, 1961

TO ESTABLISH A U.S. ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 462) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a United States Arms Control Agency, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

ESTABLISHING A U.S. ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 9118, with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. DAVIS] in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORGAN] will be recognized for 1 hour and the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORGAN].

(Mr. MORGAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill H.R. 9118.

Mr. Chairman, there is more misunderstanding concerning what this bill is all about than any piece of legislation which I can recall. A good many people apparently have the idea that the President wants to set up a special agency to deal with matters relating to disarmament to work against the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission. They seem to think the proposed Agency is supposed to favor disarmament as opposed to defense. I note that there are various groups with pacifist leanings who favor the bill because they think it is antimilitary, and various veterans organizations oppose the bill apparently for the same reason.

The fact of the matter is that there is nothing antimilitary about the bill. The new Agency will make our defenses stronger rather than weaker.

The committee received testimony strongly supporting the bill from the Honorable Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense in the present administration—Secretary McNamara was unavailable at the time—and from the Honorable Thomas S. Gates, Jr., who was Secretary of Defense during the Eisenhower administration. Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, also testified in favor of the bill.

N

Congressional Record, 1961

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 252, nays 50, not voting 133 as follows:

O

Congressional Record 1961

Mr. MORGAN. If the gentleman will yield, we accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further amendments, under the rule, the Committee will rise.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. McCormack) having resumed the Chair, Mr. Davis of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9118) to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency, pursuant to House Resolution 462, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Johansen moves to recommit the bill, H.R. 9118, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 290, nays 54, not voting 91, as follows:

P

DISARMAMENT AGENCY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 2180

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A UNITED STATES DISARMAMENT
AGENCY FOR WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1961

C.P.S.

37. 8

Q

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2180

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

1961

Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. WILEY, Mr. COOPER, Mr. HART, Mr. CLARK, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. MCGEE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Government Operations

A BILL

To establish a United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Disarmament Act for World Peace and Security".

PURPOSE

SEC. 2. An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and

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R

Calendar No. 864

87TH CONGRESS } SENATE { REPORT
1st Session } { No. 882

UNITED STATES DISARMAMENT AGENCY FOR WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

1961.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. HUMPHREY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 2180]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, having had under consideration the bill (S. 2180) to establish a U.S. Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security, reports the same with amendments and recommends that, as amended, it be passed by the Senate.

MAIN PURPOSE

S. 2180, as amended by the Committee on Foreign Relations, will establish within the Department of State a new governmental agency, the U.S. Disarmament Agency. This Agency will be under the direction of the Under Secretary of State for Disarmament, hereinafter referred to as the Director, who

> shall serve as the principal adviser to the Secretary of State and the President on disarmament matters.

The Agency is to be responsible, under the direction of the Secretary of State, for the acquisition of a fund of practical and theoretical knowledge about disarmament and is directed to conduct research in that field, to engage public or private institutions or persons for such studies, and to coordinate work in this field now being undertaken by other Government agencies in accordance with procedures to be established by the President. Not to exceed $10 million is authorized to be appropriated for the purposes of the act and to remain available until expended.

BACKGROUND

Since the end of World War II, there have been a large number of international conferences and meetings attended by both the United States and the Soviet Union at which disarmament matters have been discussed. The organization of the executive branch for this activity

C.P.S.

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Congressional Record, 1961

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. SMATHERS. On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas]. Were he present and voting he would vote "yea." Were I at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I therefore withold my vote.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Smith] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Smith] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson] are absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 73, nays 14, as follows:

T

87th CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 2180

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1961

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

AN ACT

To establish a United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE, PURPOSE, AND DEFINITIONS

SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Arms Control and Disarmament Act for World Peace and Security"

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING

Subject Objective: To know that

1. In order for a bill to become a law it must pass through certain formal stages.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Synthesis 5.00

Procedures:

1. Review the legislative process from the previous day's lesson.
2. Begin to work with the documents. Have two students go to the board and list the alphabetical arrangement of their documents. When this is completed, discuss with class the order that has been listed on the board. If disagreement arises, have the students at the board explain their reason for their classification of the point under discussion. The proper arrangement of the documents is listed below.
3. When the arrangement is completed, point out the fact that the bill could have originated in the Senate as well as the House. Ask the students to divide the list into the following five general categories:
    - I. President's letter
    - II. Passage by the House
    - III. Passage by the Senate
    - IV. Conference Committeeaction
    - V. Bill becomes a law

The legislative decision making excerpts should be arranged in the following order: (House action is recorded first.)

I. Initiation by the President
    A. Letter from President to Speaker of House
II. or III. Passage by the House
    E. Bill is introduced into the House (First reading) HR 7936
    H. Hearings held (Committee on Foreign Affairs)
    F. As result of hearings a "clean" bill is introduced in the House - HR 9118
    I. Committee makes report on bill (Report #1165)
    G. Rules Committee places bill on calendar (Union Calendar #501)
    M. Mr. O'Neill of Rules Committee places bill on floor of House for a limited debate
    O. Final roll call on bill; Bill passes House 290-54
II. or III. Passage by the Senate
    Q. Senate had initiated a similar bill - S 2180
    P. Hearings held before Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
    R. Report from Senate Committee; Bill is given Calendar #864

- J. Bill brought to Senate floor (S 2180, Report #882)
- S. Bill passes Senate

IV. Conference Committee
- T. Senate bill goes to House of Representatives (S 2180 - in House of Representatives)
- K. Senator Fulbright calls for Conference Committee to work out differences between bills (Congressional Record)
- D. Conference Committee forwards its report to House of Representatives
- N. Conference Committee bill brought to floor of House and passed (Congressional Record)
- L. Senate agrees to Conference Committee bill (Congressional Record - Sparkman)

V. Signature by the President and press release
- C. Bill is signed into law
- B. Press release

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason - GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 16.

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING: THE HUMAN ELEMENT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the task of a legislative decision maker on the national level is a time consuming job.
2. much of the time and work of a legislative decision maker is taken up with non-legislative duties.
3. the congressman acts as legislator, representative, and party supporter.

Skill Objectives:

1. Interpretation 2.20
2. Comprehension 2.00

Materials:

One handout

Procedures:

1. What is the job of the legislative branch of our government? What kind of change has taken place between the first Congress and our present day legislative bodies? (Work increased.) Could you conclude that the very size of the work load makes the role of a lawmaker a difficult one?
2. With grease pencil print two headings on a blank acetate sheet on the overhead projector: legislative activities and non-legislative activities.
   Let's examine Mr. Dirksen's day and list his activities under these headings. (The list under non-legislative activities will be much longer than that under legislative activities.) What do these lists show? (That little time is spent on law-making activities.) Is this good? Shouldn't a congressman spend his time studying proposed legislation or listening to debates about legislation? Where else is he to get information to enable him to make a correct decision on proposed legislation?
3. Why do you think representative Dirksen was so concerned with helping his constituents? What is the job of a congressman, to vote for the laws he thinks are best or to vote the way he feels his constituents would want him to vote?
4. Pass out the Kennedy reading. Let students read it. What three pressures does the author regard as influential in affecting the lives of Congressmen? Is compromise bad? What rationale does Mr. Kennedy use to explain a senator's desire for re-election? What do you think of the advice of Senator Ashurst?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 399-404, Voorhis, Jerry, "The Congressman's Job As It Is," in POLITICS U. S. A., pp. 307-315.

At this point we make use of THE GAME OF LEGISLATION.

From James S. Coleman, "The Game of Legislation," Baltimore Maryland, The Johns Hopkins University, August, 1963.

JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING: THE TASK OF A JUDGE

Subject Objectives: To know

1. that judicial decision-making is more than "just knowing the law."
2. that judicial decision-making depends upon establishing the facts, testing the applicability of the law, and judging the specific case in light of the law.
3. that judges are products of their own time, motivated by the same values and aspirations that move the society in which they live.
4. the difference between Constitutional law, statutory law, common law, and equity.

Skill Objectives:

1. Production of a unique communication 5.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Distribute the essay exam and allow students 20 minutes to complete it.
2. What does the author mean when he says judicial decision making is more than just "knowing the law?" What procedure does a judge employ in the judicial decision-making process? (List the three steps as the students respond. Discuss these three briefly in order to nail-down the idea that judicial decision making involves more then just knowing the law.)
3. What are some of the kinds of laws used by a judge when he has to make a decision? (Examine fully constitutional law, statutory law, common law, equity.)
4. Can a judge be completely objective in performing his role? What does the author mean when he claims that judges are influenced by the times in which they live?
5. Can a judge be a lawmaker as well as a law interpreter?
6. Ask students to summarize what was covered in class.

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 20, Plano and Greenberg, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, pp. 196, 198, 202.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS **READINGS 32-39**
ESSAY EXAMINATION V

This examination will last twenty minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both. Follow directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you begin to write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you begin to write.

1. The wise decision-maker will never choose an alternative which commits him so deeply that he has no way to back out or to change to another policy. At the same time the wise decision-maker will not choose an alternative which leaves his opponent only one course to follow with no opportunity to retreat.

   In terms of the above paragraph, analyze two of the four options available to President Kennedy as he attempted to meet the Cuban crisis. Be certain you consider each of the alternatives you choose not only in terms of what each might mean for further American policy but also in terms of what each option might demand as a Soviet response.

2. Since World War II American foreign relations have for the most part been conducted on a bipartisan basis. Both major political parties have agreed not to embarrass the President in his responsibilities toward foreign relations and the President in turn has agreed to consult with the leaders of both parties before initiating action.

   Does this practice violate the principle of separation of powers? In your answer, describe exactly what the term "separation of powers" means in American politics. Give examples to illustrate your position. Then state whether or not the procedure described above violates separation of powers. Finally, indicate whether or not you think this new procedure is dangerous for a democracy.

JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING: THE SUPREME COURT DECIDES

Subject Objectives: To know

1. the difference between appellate and original jurisdiction.
2. that the Supreme Court has the last word in interpreting the Constitution and federal laws.
3. that the Supreme Court is the last federal Court of Appeals.
4. that the Supreme Court follows a formal procedure for accepting or rejecting cases.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

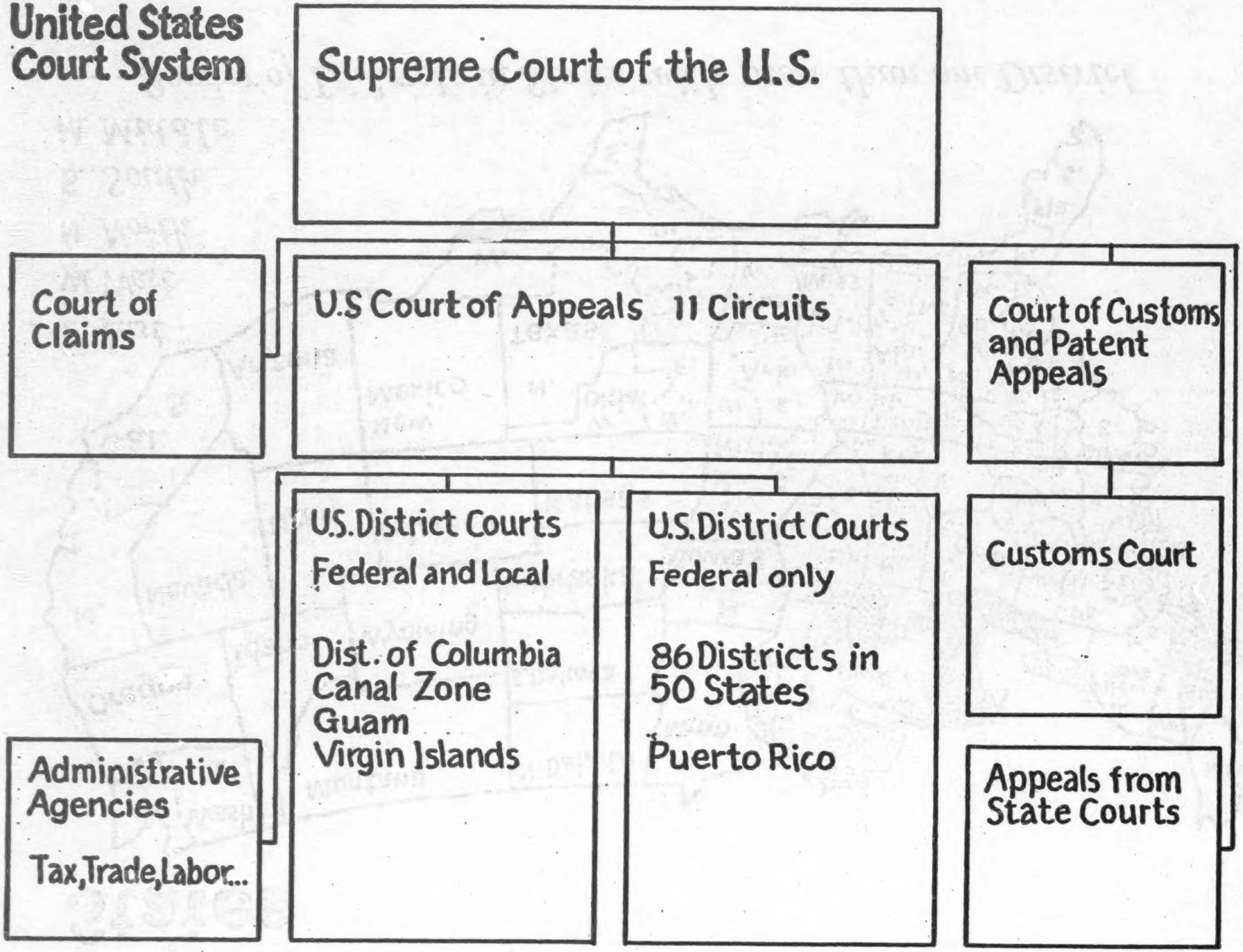
Two transparencies

Procedures:

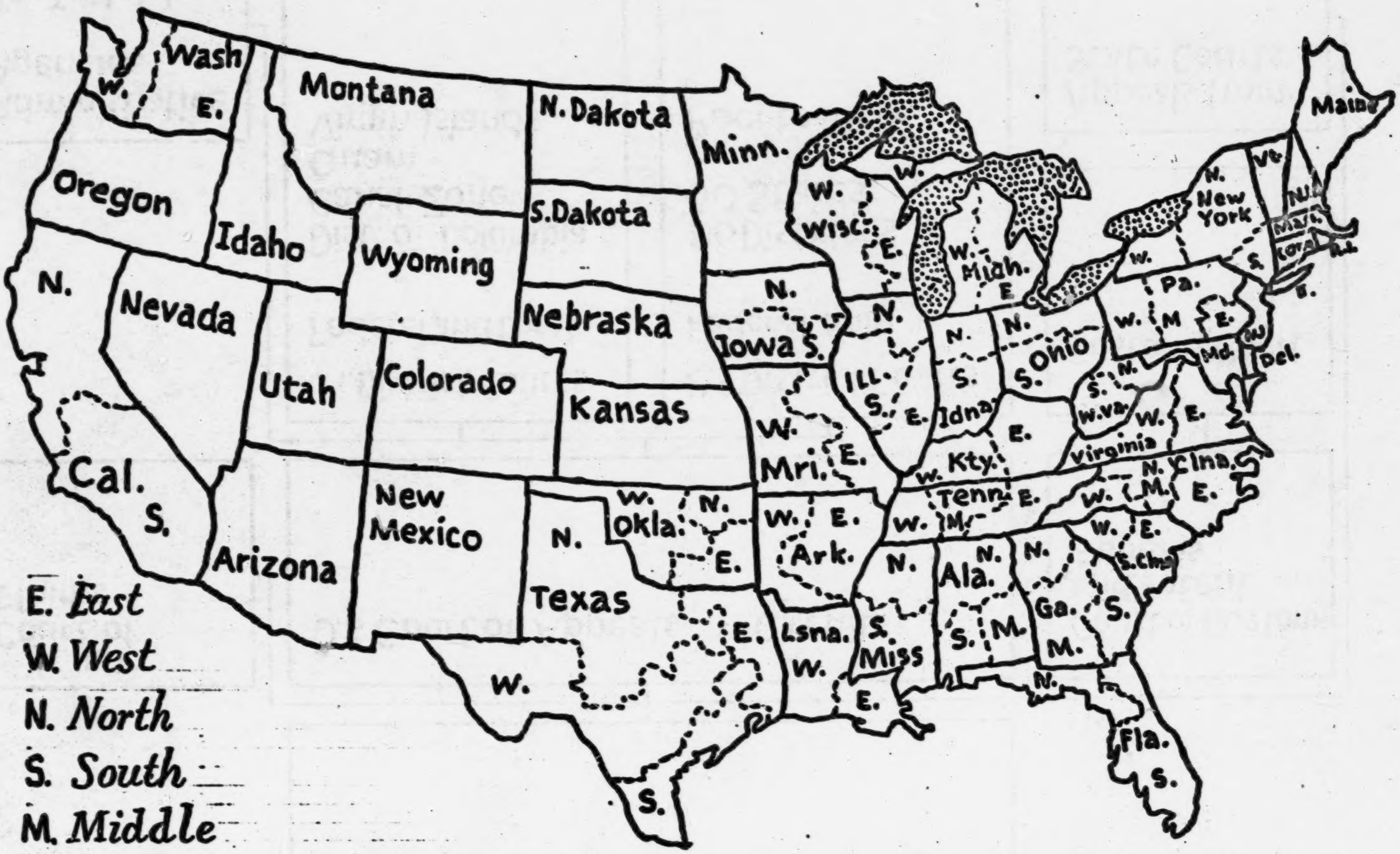
1. Use Transparency A (The Federal Court Structure) to develop a basic understanding of the structure of the Federal Court system. Identify the District Courts (86), the Circuit Courts (11), and the Supreme Court. Point out the difference between original and appellate jurisdiction and use these terms to define the responsibilities of the Federal District Courts, the Circuit Courts, and the Supreme Court.
2. Use Transparency B (the boundaries of the Federal Courts in the United States) to point out the jurisdiction held by the District Courts, the Circuit Courts, and the Supreme Court.
3. What is the job of the Supreme Court? What cases does the Supreme Court handle?
4. How does the Supreme Court decide which cases to hear? What is a writ of certiorari?
5. What three general steps does the Supreme Court take in making a decision?
   a) Oral arguments. Why is it important to hear the oral arguments of the attorneys as well as read the transcripts? Why do the justices question the attorneys?
   b) Conference discussions. Why does the discussion take place? How do the justices vote? Why is this the end of their decision-making? What happens next?
   c) Writing opinions. Why should justices write opinions after they have already voted on the case? Why are there often minority as well as majority opinions? How is the final decision on a case settled?
6. Felix Frankfurter once stated "the Supreme Court is the Constitution." What did he mean? Remember yesterday's conclusion that judges are products of their own time? Compare this statement with that of Justice Frankfurter's. What may this imply?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter20,
Plano and Greenberg, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY,
pp. - 193, appellate jurisdiction
206, jurisdiction of courts
208, original jurisdiction
201, Federal District Courts
196, Circuit Courts
213, Supreme Court
Osborne, John, "One Supreme Court," in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 34-41.

United States Court System


Supreme Court of the U.S.
Court of Claims
U.S Court of Appeals 11 Circuits
Court of Customs and Patent Appeals
U.S. District Courts
Federal and Local
Dist. of Columbia
Canal Zone
Guam
Virgin Islands
U.S. District Courts
Federal only
86 Districts in 50 States
Puerto Rico
Customs Court
Administrative Agencies
Tax, Trade, Labor...
Appeals from State Courts

United States —— District Courts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N.H.
Mass.
Conn.
R.I.
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Wyoming
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Colorado
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Texas
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Fla.
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E. *East*

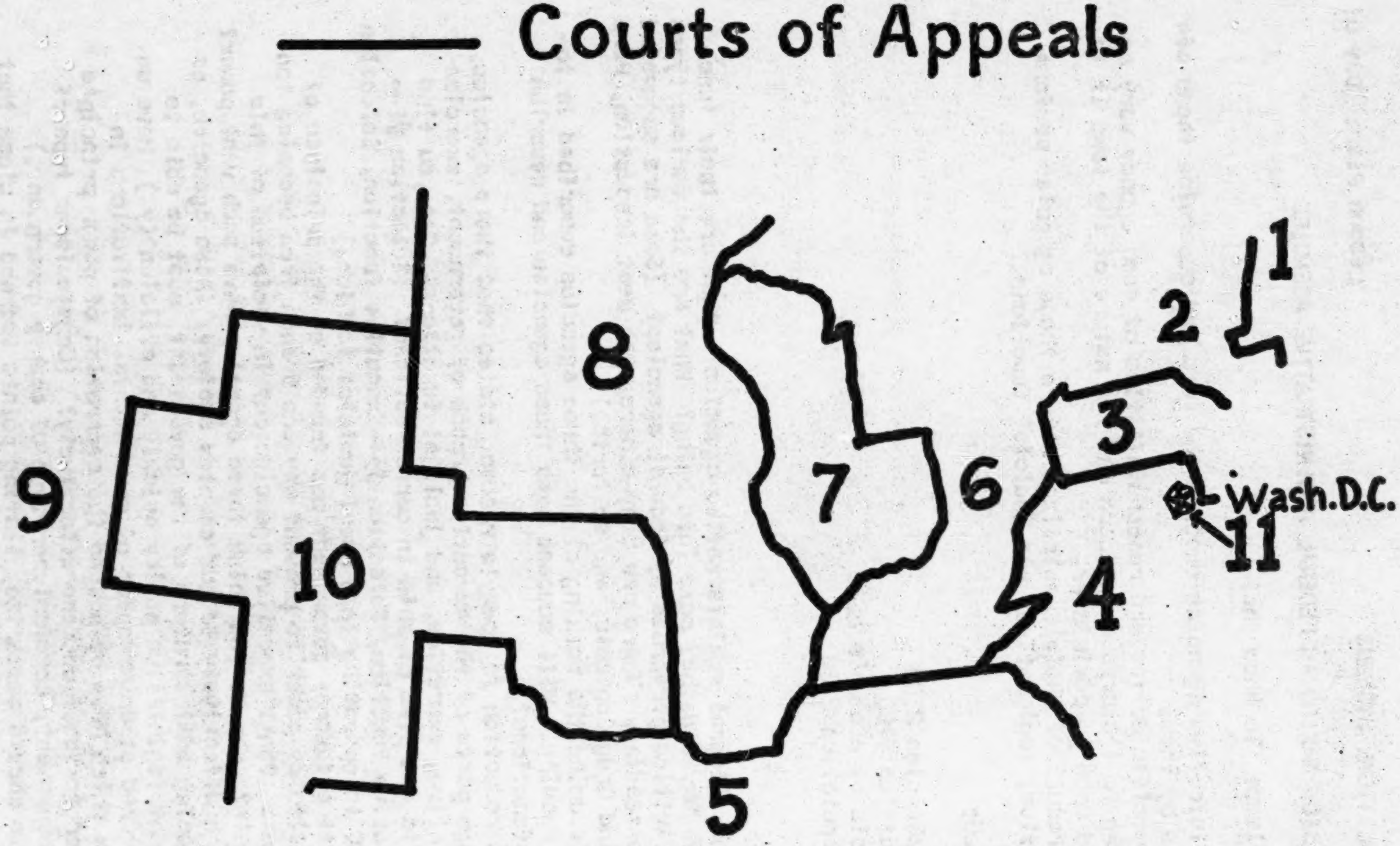
W. *West* ——

N. *North*

S. *South* ——

M. *Middle* ——

----- *Border of Districts in States with more than one District*


Courts of Appeals
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Wash.D.C.

DECISION MAKING IN FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. administrative agencies execute the laws and supervise those affected by them.
2. the specific duties and responsibilities of each agency vary according to its area of concern and the nature of the laws it is called upon to administer.
3. as a result of their specialized nature these agencies perform executive, legislative, and judicial functions.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Application 3.00
3. Analysis of elements 4.10
4. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. What are federal administrative agencies? What are their functions? Why did they come into being? What are the various types of activities performed by federal agencies? (Some are suggested by the reading. There are many others such meat inspection, Pure Food and Drug Controls, and so forth.)
2. Let's examine the working of the three agencies described in today's reading. Will someone name these agencies and describe their functions?
3. Our introduction to today's reading states that these agencies, although parts of the executive branch of government, exercise legislative, executive, and judicial functions. Can you find specific examples of this in our selections? (Selection #1--Legislative function, Selection #3--Executive function, Selection #4--FCC is operating in a quasi-judicial fashion.)
4. Our entire federal government was founded on the principle of separation of power to prevent any one Branch from becoming too powerful. Don't executive agencies act in violation of this principle? Why do you think these agencies have such vast power? (To work effectively in our complex society, these agencies, as functioning administrators of the government, must be able to implement legislative policy quickly and efficiently.) Have we encountered other examples of governmental institutions in America which have by-passed the separation of power principle in order to function more effectively? (Commissioner type of city government, commissioner type of county government.)
5. Students should summarize, listing points learned in class that day.

Teacher's readings: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 25.
Bendiner, Robert, "The FCC--Who Will Regulate the Regulators?" In POLITICS, U.S.A., pp. 400-410.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 42

DECISION MAKING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE CONCEPT OF A POWER ELITE

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the major decisions of a community are sometimes made by a political elite.
2. this political elite may or may not include members of the government itself.
3. the activities of an elite may be quite informal and are usually unofficial.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension
2. Translation 2.10
3. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

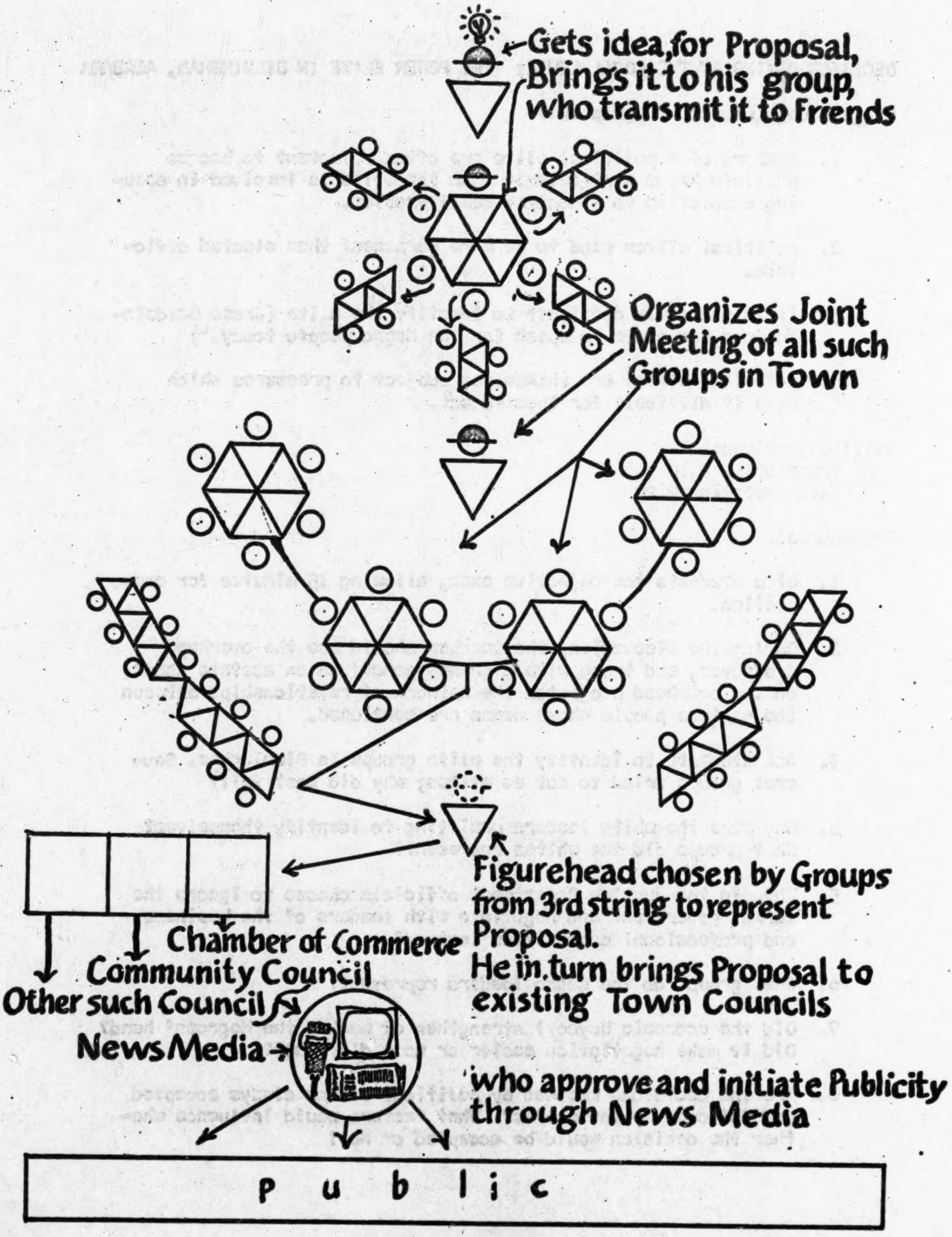
One transparency

Procedures:

1. Can you identify distinct classes in American society? (Yes. Often generally identified as upper, middle, and lower classes. These groups may be further subdivided.) What is the basis for this class structure in the United States? (Wealth, level of education, success in occupations that are given high value in American society.)
2. What does the author mean by the term "power elite?" (A group of people outside the formal structure of government who make the political decisions for the community.) If these people can make political decisions, even though they are not formal political leaders, this means that they must be considered important enough to have their opinions carry weight. Why are these men considered so important? Do the values of a society have anything to do with the influential positions of such men? (Yes. If men excel in those qualities that are highly valued in their society, they will be"looked-up" to as leaders in that society regardless of their formal positions.)
3. What values in American society could account for the positions of prominence held by the power elite in Regional City? (Material wealth, success in business.)
4. Use the transparency prepared for this lesson. It shows in visual form the elite structure of Regional City. Ask the students to explain the chart. Then ask general questions to test their understanding of the transparency and to simplify the understanding of the reading.
5. What is the function of the figures attached to the inner crowd? (These are third stringers who carry out orders.) How is the Grandview Club dinner represented here? Are there other clubs of equal importance with Homer's Group? (Yes, but they do cooperate on the basis of Homer's word.) Do they represent the elite groups? (Yes.) Where on this diagram is Lonny Dewberry? (One of the men who carry out orders.) What is the position of the Chamber of Commerce and the Community Council on this

5. (cont'd.) diagram? (at bottom) Now will someone repeat the story using this diagram?
6. Is this elite, as Treat describes it, a cohesive and permanent group which would be in existence to make decisions on all matters confronting the community? (No! Only the inner group is permanent.) Is the composition of the elite affected by the particular decision to be made? (Yes. The inner group could rely upon support only of those members of elite who felt concerned with the problem.)
7. What groups in Regional City do you think had the formal responsibility for arriving at a decision concerning the International Trade Council? (Chamber of Commerce and Community Council.)
8. Does the power elite described by Treat fit the pattern of power structure in Regional City described by Floyd Hunter? (Yes.) What classes were represented in the power groups described by Treat?
9. What social class would be most heavily represented among community leaders? What professions or occupations? Will these answers vary according to the community?
10. What happens to democracy when there is a strong political elite providing direction for the community?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 7-9.


Gets idea, for Proposal,
Brings it to his group,
who transmit it to Friends
Organizes Joint Meeting of all such Groups in Town
Figurehead chosen by Groups from 3rd string to represent Proposal.
He in turn brings Proposal to existing Town Councils
Chamber of Commerce
Community Council
Other such Council
News Media
who approve and initiate Publicity through News Media
public

DECISION MAKING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE POWER ELITE IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. members of a political elite are often reluctant to become publicly known particularly when the elite is involved in seeking a solution to a controversial problem.

2. political elites tend to be more permanent than elected officials.

3. it is sometimes difficult to identify the elite (James Baldwin-"no man can claim to speak for the Negro people today.")

4. political elites are themselves subject to pressures which make it difficult for them to act.

Skill Objectives:
Translation 2.10
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Give students the objective exam, allowing 15 minutes for completion.

2. During the discussion, the teacher should use the overhead projector, and trace with a grease pencil on an acetate sheet on the overhead projector the network of relationships between the various people whose names are mentioned.

3. Ask students to identify the elite groups in Birmingham. Several groups tried to act as elites; why did most fail?

4. Why were the white leaders unwilling to identify themselves? What groups did the whites represent?

5. Why did the Justice Department officials choose to ignore the formal government and negotiate with leaders of the business and professional communities instead?

6. What groups do the negro leaders represent?

7. Did the economic boycott strengthen or weaken the Negroes' hand? Did it make negotiation easier or more difficult?

8. Are the decisions reached by political elites always accepted and followed by the public? What factors would influence whether the decision would be accepted or not?

Teacher's Reading:

Carter, Douglas, "Atlanta: Smart Politics and Good Race Relations" in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, pp. 405-415

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 7-9

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 36-43
FIFTH OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

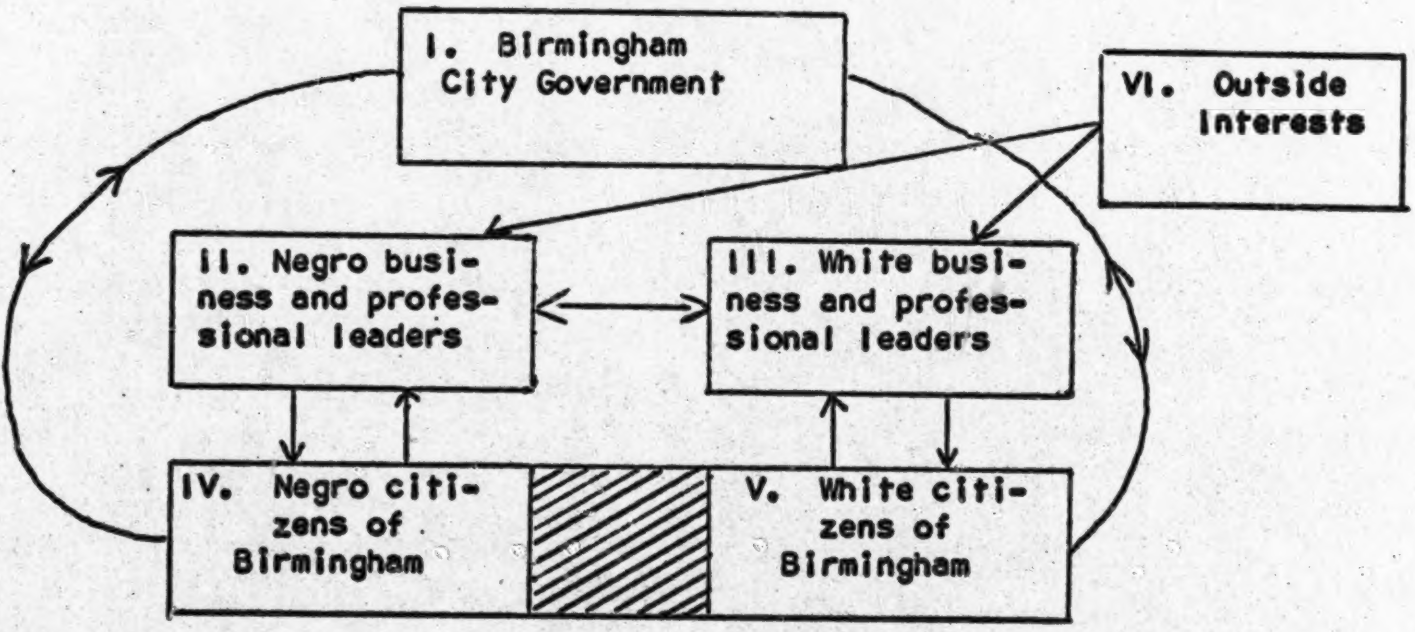
DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
	1. Chicago is a	1. A ☒ C D
	A) state	
	B) city	
	C) country	
	D) continent	

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

Questions 1 to 6 refer to the following chart:


I. Birmingham City Government
VI. Outside interests
II. Negro business and professional leaders
III. White business and professional leaders
IV. Negro citizens of Birmingham
V. White citizens of Birmingham

1. Which of the groups in the diagram was chosen by the democratic process?
   [✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. VI

2. Which of the following people properly fit into group VI, Outside Interests?
   A. Burke Marshall C. Dick Gregory
   B. Governor Wallace [✓ D. All of the above]

3. Which of the groups is likely to be the more continuing and stable ruling elite in Birmingham?
   A. I [✓ B. III] C. IV D. VI

4. Which two groups worked most closely together to reach a settlement?
   A. I and III B. III and VI [✓ C. II and III] D. IV and V

5. Which of the groups was most reluctant to be identified?
   A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. VI

6. The survival of any settlement depended in final analysis on the support of what two groups?
   A. II and IV B. III and V C. III and VI [✓ D. IV and V]

7. Which of the following would you expect to find most often among the political elite of a typical American community?
   [✓ A. Businessmen] B. Teachers C. Ministers D. Laborers

8. Which of the following statements best conveys how an elite operates?
   A. Generally the elite is well known. It meets publicly and announces its decisions in the press.
   [✓ B. The elite is normally a loose, informal group of individuals who acknowledge each other's influence and who in turn can influence other individuals and organizations.]
   C. The elite usually consists of the elected members of the city government. You can watch it operate by attending city council meetings.
   D. There is no elite actually. Every citizen influences political decisions at one time or another and can therefore be included as part of the elite.

9. One study of the ten most influential men in a community discovered that two newspaper publishers were among the list of ten. Which of the following reasons best explains their inclusion on such a list?
   A. Newspapers depend upon advertising for their existence.
   B. Newspaper publishers are often wealthy men.
   [✓ C. Newspapers influence public opinion.]
   D. Newspapermen are universally respected.

10. If you were to attempt to identify the political elite in Pittsburgh, what would be the best approach to follow?
    A. Write down the names of city officials.
    B. Read the society sections of the newspaper.
    [✓ C. Interview a number of prominent businessmen and ask them to name individuals they consider influential.]
    D. Interview clergymen and ask them to provide you with a list of men they believe are influential.

Questions 11 to 14 refer to the following terms or phrases:
    I. Committee hearings
    II. Conference committee
    III. Floor debate
    IV. Executive session of committee
    V. Securing a rule for debate

11. Which of the legislative steps listed above is relevant to the House of Representatives but not to the Senate?
    A. I   B. II   C. III   [✓ D. V]

12. Which of these terms or phrases requires the joint participation of Congressmen and Senators?
    A. I   [✓ B. II]   C. III   D. V

13. Which of the steps in legislative procedure listed above is most likely to be more restricted in the House than in the Senate?
    A. I   B. II   [✓ C. III]   D. IV

14. Which would be the proper order of steps by which a House resolution would initially travel on the road to becoming a law?
    A. V, IV, II, I, III   C. III, IV, II, I, V
    [✓ B. I, IV, V, III, II]   D. II, III, I, V, IV

15. In judicial decision-making which of the following problems is most likely to concern a judge?
    A. Is the law legally sound?
    B. Does the law apply to the facts of the particular case?
    C. Under the law is the accused guilty?
    [✓ D. All of the above.]

16. Which of the following acts would not likely be the responsibility of any federal regulatory agency?
    A. Establishment of passenger fares on airline tickets
    B. Establishment of standards for grading meat
    [✓ C. Establishment of regulations regarding the qualifications of voters]
    D. Establishment of regulations requiring the proper labeling of drugs

Questions 17 to 20 refer to the following quotations:

Speaker I "You may pass the law, but it is up to me to see that it is understood and obeyed. I've got to argue with corporation officials, and sometimes threaten them with court action, before they will comply."

Speaker II "Charley, be a good boy. Run down to City Hall and tell Mayor Jones that we've decided that our city needs a new recreation park."

Speaker III "I refuse to be intimidated! I don't care if it is an an election year, I'll vote the way my conscience dictates."

Speaker IV "The legislative act is correct. Our decision has been made. And need I remind you, our decision is law!"

17. Which of the above speakers is a legislative decision-maker?
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

18. Which of the above speakers is a judicial decision-maker?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

19. Which of the above speakers sounds like a leader of the power elite?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

20. Which of the above speakers is a member of an executive administrative agency?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

Questions 21 and 22 refer to the following two cases:

Case I John Smith, convicted of robbery, claimed that one of his rights as a citizen was violated when he was forced to testify against himself. A new trial was ordered when the judge claimed that Smith's trial was not conducted according to due process of law.

Case II James Adenoids, a singer, was sued for breach of contract by the owner of a nightclub. To speed up the trial, which was being delayed by Adenoids' attorney, the nightclub owner asked the judge to issue an injunction to prevent Adenoids from singing until the suit was settled.

21. Case I is an example of which of the following types of law?
A. Equity B. Common law [✓ C. Constitutional law] D. Statutory law

22. Case II is an example of which of the following types of law?
[✓ A. Equity] B. Common law C. Constitutional law D. Statutory law

23. The Constitution has been called the supreme law of the land. But Justice Frankfurter once stated that "The Supreme Court is the Constitution." If you accept both of these statements as true, three of the following conclusions would follow logically. Which one would not?
    - [✓ A.] The Supreme Court is the highest branch of the federal government.
    - B. The Supreme Court makes the supreme law of the land.
    - C. The decisions of the Supreme Court constitute the supreme law of the land.
    - D. Through the interpretation of the Constitution, the judges of the Supreme Court are lawmakers.

Questions 24 and 25 refer to the following letter:

August 8, 1946

Hon. Charles Denny, Chairman
Federal Communications Commission

Dear Mr. Denny,

I have just received your notice that you had granted the application of the Capitol Broadcasting Company at Nashville, Tennessee.

I want to protest against this.

Senator Stewart recommended to you that you grant a station to the Tennessee Broadcasters and to the Tennessee Radio Corporation.

We recall that in talking to your predecessor about it he said he did not see how he could turn down (our requests) but you have turned them down. I think you have made a great mistake. Is it too late to mend?

It seems that your office takes pleasure in turning down our recommendations. Senator Stewart and I were together in all of these recommendations. Of course you know all about Tennessee and we know nothing. Very frankly, Mr. Denny, I resent very much your action in the matter.

Very sincerely yours,
/s/KENNETH McKELLER

24. Assuming that Senator Stewart permitted his name to be used in this letter, which of the following non-legislative pressures probably dictated his action.
    - A. Party loyalty
    - [✓ B.] Loyalty to constituents
    - C. Loyalty to the informal folkways of the Senate
    - D. A desire to establish friendly relations with the Federal Communications Commission

25. If Senator Stewart were a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, how could he gain revenge for this action?

✱A. Demand a decrease in the next F.C.C. budget request
B. Forbid the F.C.C. to grant any more licences
C. Refuse to vote for acceptance of future F.C.C. actions
D. Demand the removal of Chairman Denny

SOVIET DECISION MAKING: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. unlike the diffused decision making process of the United States, decision making is concentrated in the Soviet Union.
2. the nature of the American decision making process provides greater opportunity for more people to have influence.
3. decision making power in the Soviet Union lies in the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
4. the C.P.S.U. is different from American political parties. In addition to providing political support, it also dictates policy.
5. decision making in the Soviet Union is inextricably tied with the struggle for power.

Skill Objectives:

1. Application 3.00
2. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. What are the different roles of American political parties and the C.P.S.U.? Do they all provide political support? (Yes.) Do they all take part in the decision making process? (U.S. - little, C.P.S.U. - chief decision making body.) What groups in C.P.S.U. control decision making power? (Secretariat and Presidium.)
2. Are there separate interest groups in the United States? Name some. Are there separate interest groups in the Soviet Union? Name some. What influence on decision making do these groups have in the U.S.? In the Soviet Union?
3. Why is there a need for bargaining in the decision making process of the United States? (Stress isolated and conflicting roles of decision makers and the different interests acting on each.) Does such bargaining take place in the Soviet Union? Why is there no bargaining between Soviet leaders and society? (No need. There are no independent sources of power outside C.P.S.U.) What sort of bargaining takes place inside the Presidium? (Generally an attempt to gain support for the idea.)
4. What danger threatens any disagreements on decisions within the Presidium? (The danger of a struggle for party power.) Does the party role of dictating policy have anything to do with this danger? (Yes. There must be unanimity of policy, for any change in party policy might well trigger a change in party control.) What then is the relationship between power struggle and decision making in the C.P.S.U.? (They are combined. One could easily lead to the other.)
5. Let's review some of these answers and try to draw some generalizations. We say that office seeking and decision making are combined within the C.P.S.U. We also have said that there are no independent sources of power, such as interest groups, outside the C.P.S.U. What then is the relationship between the C.P.S.U. and various groups in Soviet society? (C.P.S.U. dominates Soviet society and controls groups.)

6. We know that there are independent interest groups in the United States. We know that they do influence decision making. Why can't they be controlled like Soviet groups? (Absence of any controlling power like C.P.S.U.) But we do have political parties and they do try to influence opinion. What prevents them from controlling interest groups? (They have no real policy making influence on our decision makers. The parties function primarily as political support groups.)
7. Which system (U.S. or Soviet Union) provides greater opportunity for influencing decision making?

Teacher's reading: Frankel, Max, "One Party Government," in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 74-79.
Schwartz, Harry, THE RED PHOENIX, pp. 58-61.

SOVIET DECISION MAKING: THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. In any country the decision making process can be divided into four phases: initiation, persuasion, decision and execution.

2. unlike the United States, where each of the four phases may take place at different levels and by different people, in the USSR all four steps are performed by the top leaders.

3. In theory Lenin's concept of democratic centralism would provide for origination of policy with in the rank and file of party members, but this is rarely true today.

4. the centralized control of the decision making process is an example of totalitarian government.

Skill Objectives:
Translation 2.10
Analysis of elements 4.10
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. The teacher should take notes on the overhead projector during discussion to demonstrate to students what good class notes look like.

2. What is similar about the way decisions are made in all governments? (List four phases of decision making) Let's examine each of those separately.

3. What do we mean by initiation? Where do policy ideas originate in the US? In the USSR? (Place transparency on the projector showing Lenin's theory of democratic centralism) What does democratic centralism mean? Explain this diagram. Is this the way policy ideas originate in the Soviet Union today? (No: policy starts at the top.)

4. What do we mean by persuasion? What is the difference in the persuasion stages in the US and the USSR?

5. What do we mean by decision? Who is the decision making body in the USSR according to the Soviet constitution? (Supreme Soviet) In reality who makes the decisions? (Communist Party) How is this different from decision making in the United States?

6. What do we mean by execution? Who executes the laws in the Soviet Union? Who executes the laws in the United States? Where does the decision making power rest in the US? (many

areas) Where does it rest in the Soviet Union? (Communist Party)

7. The centralized control of the decision making phases is an example of what type of government? What do you mean by totalitarian?

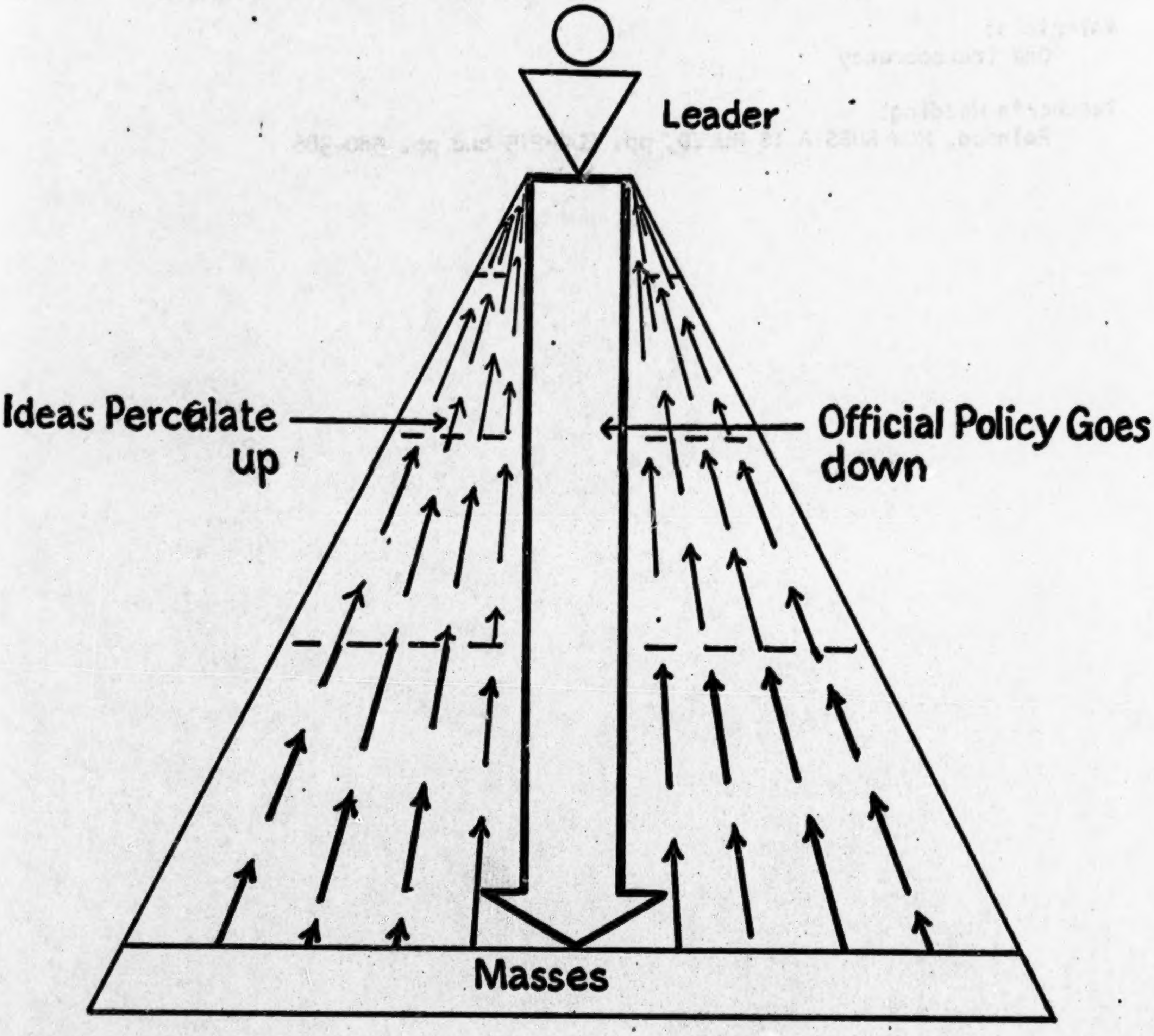
8. Why does the Soviet system seem to have more efficient methods of law making? (Same group is responsible for all four stages)

Materials:
One transparency

Teacher's Reading:
Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, pp. 209-215 and pp. 580-586

45

Theory Behind Democratic Centralism


Leader
Ideas Percolate up
Official Policy Goes down
Masses

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: A DECISION BY STALIN

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. during his period of leadership of the C.P.S.U., Stalin personally controlled the decision-making process of the party.
2. In addition to his control of internal affairs of the U.S.S.R., Stalin controlled the decision-making apparatus of the International Communist Party.
3. under Stalin the struggle for power, and the determination of policy, in the Party were often intertwined.

Skill Objectives:
Application 3.00
Comprehension 2.00
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Will someone repeat the story of today's reading? (Allow students to retell the complete story. Ask specific questions to bring out details. Then use the following questions.) What was the real purpose of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1927? What was the Senior Convent? Why did it meet at this time? (To insure that leaders of the most important delegations would support Stalin's move to condemn Trotsky.) How could Stalin control the making of decisions in the Executive Committee of the Communist International by the use of the Senior Convent? (By controlling these leaders; through them he controls the Executive Committee)
2. Why did Silone refuse to agree with the proposed resolution at this meeting? What reasons did he give for his refusal at the meeting? At the hotel? What clues are given which show Stalin's use of the Senior Convent in Silone's reply at the hotel? ("I should have to explain to you why I'm against Fascism.") And the letter he and Togliatti sent to the C. P. S. U.? ("Russian comrades. . .should not /exercise control of international/ in a mechanical and authoritarian way." Both statements indicate that Silone was aware that Stalin wanted to control all decisions in the Executive Committee.) What sort of response did Stalin expect from the members of the Senior Convent? (Unquestioning agreement to his demands)
3. What clues do the actions of these men give us regarding the degree of control Stalin exercised over the decision-making apparatus of the Communist International?
4. Why do you think Stalin wished to have the Executive Committee

of the Communist International condemn Trotsky? (To provide a legitimate basis for Trotsky's eventual dismissal from the Communist Party) If Stalin could get his policy adopted and thus have Trotsky declared a heretic, how would this affect Stalin's role as a decision-maker? (Stalin would have no rival for power. His position as chief decision-maker would be unchallenged.)

5. What had we formerly learned about the relationship between decision-making and the power struggle in the U.S.S.R. that is applicable here? (Decision-making and a power struggle are intertwined in the U.S.S.R. Have students develop this theme as it applies to the Stalin-Trotsky struggle mentioned here.)

6. Students should summarize the main points brought out in class.

Teacher's Readings:

Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, pp. 109-116

Barghoorn, F.C., "Portrait of Joseph Stalin" in THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 165-168

Djilas, M., "Stalin Rules the Communist World" in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 168-172

SOVIET DECISION-MAKING: THE POWER ELITE

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. there is a ruling elite in the USSR.
2. most of those in this elite may be found holding key posts in the government and/or the Communist Party.
3. Djilas believes one should speak about a "new class" and not just a political elite since this elite possesses all the characteristics of a social and economic class.
4. this "new class" possesses many of the characteristics of earlier "exploiting classes" and that the "new class" has sacrificed the dreams of Communism for its own selfish class interest.

Skill Objectives:

1. Production of a unique communication 5.10
2. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Use the first 20 minutes to administer the essay examination. Hold the students to the time limit.
2. Begin by discussing the concept of class. (People with similar occupations, interests, etc. tend to share similar attitudes, ideals, and goals and to interact with each other more than with members of other groups.) Who introduced concept of social and economic classes? (Marx. His ideas were used by sociologists to understand modern society.) Would you say that a class system exists in the U.S. today? (Yes. Be certain that students distinguish between class and caste.) Were the members of Regional City's power elite drawn from a certain class? (Yes. Upper and upper middle class business and professional men.)
3. Let's examine Marx's view of the history of society and the role Communism was to play in bringing about a classless society. (Develop an understanding of Marxian theory.)
4. What is Djilas' main theme? (That a ruling elite has risen in U.S.S.R. in defiance of Marxian theory.) Why has this happened in the U.S.S.R.? What meaning does Marx's phrase "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" have in the U.S.S.R. today, according to Djilas?
5. Who comprises this ruling elite? Why does Djilas call this group a new class? Does this political elite form a social and economic class?
6. Ask a student to summarize the conclusions which the class has drawn.
7. Before class is dismissed, the teacher should explain Reading 48. This reading requires students to record their daily activities on a chart. Since this is a two day record, students should read Lesson 48 over the weekend and keep their records over a period of two days.

Teacher's reading: Fainsod, HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, Chapter 10
Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 7-9

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL S READINGS 32-47
ESSAY EXAMINATION VI

This examination will last twenty minutes. Write one of the two following essays. Do not write both. Follow directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you begin writing your final answer.

1. Write one or two paragraphs in which you compare and contrast executive, legislative, and judicial decision-making. Among the questions you should try to answer are the following:
   - A. To what degree is each governed by formal rules and tradition and therefore closed to a unique pattern of decision-making by individuals?
   - B. Which of the three is most complex, i.e., requiring a variety of decisions and actions before a final decision can be reached?

2. Write a paragraph or two in which you compare and contrast the concept of a ruling elite as exemplified by the United States and the USSR by discussing the following topics:
   - A. Who are the elite?
   - B. How do they influence policy and action?
   - C. How certain is it that the decisions of the elite will be accepted?

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: TIME

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. time is a scarce resource and that in order to take time to do one thing, a person must give up time allotted to something else.
2. in fact, the typical American citizen gives little time or attention to political matters.
3. the primary reason for his indifference seems to be an unwillingness to allocate the time necessary for political activity.
4. a democracy rests on the theory that the "people rule."

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Analysis of elements 4.10
3. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Unless students have "rigged" their time schedule, there should be little time marked under political activities. Teacher may begin by asking why so little time is devoted to political activity. Raise the question of the desirability of such activity as compared to others. Point out by questions that time is a resource that must be apportioned wisely to be used well.
2. Do you think this schedule is typical of American teen-agers? Of American adults?
3. Why do people choose to spend time as they do? What do you think are the major causes of political non-participation? Would you expect the degree of political participation to rise with the level of education? Why?
4. What might be done in the schools to encourage people to allocate more time to political activity?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, Chapter 10.

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: INFORMATION

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. there are great resources available from which the citizen can gain information on political issues.
2. among these sources of information are the mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television) and personal contacts.
3. the barrage of propaganda and information does not change the voting habits of most citizens.
4. an individual is likely to accept new information which agrees with that which he already believes and reject that which violates his personal prejudices and attitudes.

Skill Objectives:
Comprehension 2.00

Procedures:

1. Studies have shown that people get more information from newspapers than from television but believe more of what they see on T.V. How do you account for this?
2. Is one more likely to accept new information which is contrary to present beliefs or which is in agreement with present beliefs?
3. What do you think a voter is likely to do when faced with a choice which he does not fully understand, e.g., a new charter or a constitutional amendment? Is he likely to vote for the change or for the status quo? Use the example of the vote on the new city charter for New Haven as an illustration.
4. What individuals do you think are most likely to influence one's voting behavior? Family, friends, religious leaders, employers, union leaders?
5. Ask students what sections of the newspaper they read. What are the essential differences in purpose between the news page and the editorial page? Where should the newspaper express its opinions? How can a newspaper slant news stories without actually falsifying them?
6. Since so few Americans seem to be aware of political issues and personalities, what should be our attitude toward getting people to the polls to vote?

Teacher's Reading:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 275-280

Morrow, Edward R., "The Responsibilities of Television" in GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, pp. 243-256

THE NEEDS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: THE PROBLEM OF MANAGED NEWS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. a citizen can act intelligently only on the basis of extensive and accurate information
2. the type of news reaching the American citizen by newspapers is dependent upon the newspapers' selection of information, and the presence or absence of government censorship
3. the cold war has raised the question of government management of news
4. the phrase "managed news" , in this case, implies government censorship of news items it considers detrimental to national security.

Skill Objectives:
Comprehension 2.00
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Mr. Kennedy spoke of "common responsibilities in the face of common danger". Who shares in this responsibility? How does this phrase serve to introduce the subject of his speech? (the responsibility is shared by all - government, press, people. Using this phrase Mr. Kennedy sets the theme for the speech: The close relationship that must exist between government, press, and people in a time of common danger) What obligations, according to Mr. Kennedy, does the cold war force upon our society? (The need for far greaterpublic information and the need for far greater official secrecy.) Upon which groups of the society do these obligations weigh heaviest? (On the government and the press.)
2. Does Mr. Kennedy seem to favor censorship of the press? (No) What was his view of the relationship between press and government? (They are to cooperate to bring to the people the information it needs to understand government policy)
3. From Mr. Kennedy's view what kind of information should be kept secret? (News, which if discovered, might prove harmful to the nation's security.) Who is to determine the "safety" of news about government affairs? (The press was asked to censor itself.) What questions must the press ask itself concerning the news?
4. The English poet Milton once used a phrase that seems appropriate here "Necessity, the tyrant's plea". Can anyone tell

me what that means? How can it be applied to government censorship of news? Does the government have the right to decide what can be printed?

5. Let's review some of this information and see if we can arrive at some general conclusions.
   We have said that Mr. Kennedy's "common responsibility" phrase included the people as well as the press and the government. We can easily see the responsibilities of the press and the government, but what is the responsibility of the people concerning the news? (To study news objectively and critically, for a well informed citizen is a good citizen)
   What do you think the phrase "All the news that's fit to print" means? Who determines its fitness? (Newspaper editors) What does this imply? (That news can be "managed" by the art of editing) In what two general ways can news be managed today? (Government censorship - newspaper editing and ommission)

6. Students should be asked to list general conclusions of discussion.

Teacher's readings: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 275-280.
Hutchins, Robert, "The Responsibility of a Free Press," in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 150-154.

POLITICAL INACTIVITY BY AMERICAN CITIZENS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. many Americans do not participate actively in politics.

2. among the reasons why they do not participate are the following:
   A. A fear of the consequences -- personal, occupational, or psychological -- of political activity.
   B. A sense of futility regarding political activity.
   C. The absence of incentives to participate.

Skill Objectives:
Application 3.00
Analysis of elements 4.10
Judgment in terms of external evidence 6.20
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Administer the objective examination. The examination will require 15 minutes.

2. After the examination has been completed, use the rest of the hour to discuss the reading, "Political Inactivity by American Citizens".

3. Following are the hypotheses Rosenberg made from his own data. The numbers which accompany each category correspond to the numbers of the statements in the reading.

   I. The threatening consequences of political activity
      A. Threats to interpersonal harmony - #1, 3, 14
      B. Threats to occupational success - #6, 7, 8,
      C. Threat of ego-deflation - #23

   II. The futility of political activity
      A. Futility based on the sense of personal inadequacy - #2, 16, 18, 20, 27
      B. The unmanageability of political forces - #9, 12, 15, 25
      C. The foregone conclusion - #13

   III. The absence of spurs to interest and participation
      A. Subject matter of politics is often not psychologically compelling
      B. Absence of noninstrumental satisfaction - #5, 11 (In other words, one cannot see the immediate results of one's actions)
      C. Political results meet few direct and urgent needs - #17, 19, 24

D. People often lack a personal thrust to action - #21, 22, 25

4. Begin the lesson by asking students what hypotheses they have developed from the statements in the reading. Use the blackboard or overhead projector to list or group these hypotheses. Encourage students to criticize the categorization until some agreement is reached. Then list the numbers of the statements under each of the proper categories as suggested by the class.

5. When the students have completed their hypothesizing, compare their work to the conclusions of Rosenberg.

6. Ask students to develop a technique to test this hypothesis. Discuss the development of a scientific sample for a poll as time permits.

Materials:

Each student to receive dittoed copies of the twenty-seven responses

Teacher's Readings:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 247-253

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS
SIXTH OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

READINGS 44 to 51

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
1. Chicago is a A) state B) city C) country D) continent	1. A [✓ B] C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

1. The ruling elite in the USSR can be best identified with which of the following?
   A. Council of Ministers
   B. Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
   *C. Presidium of the Communist Party
   D. Supreme Soviet

2. Which of the following conclusions would be valid based on the description of THE NEW CLASS by Milovan Djilas?
   A. In spite of all their efforts the Communists were not able to eradicate capitalists.
   *B. In the USSR the rulers enjoy privileges not enjoyed generally by all Russians.
   C. "The New Class" is a Soviet term used to describe a classless society.
   D. All of the above.

3. To an orthodox communist, Djilas' description of "The New Class" would be
   *A. heretical B. comforting C. thrilling D. challenging

D. People often lack a personal thrust to action - #21, 22, 25

4. Begin the lesson by asking students what hypotheses they have developed from the statements in the reading. Use the blackboard or overhead projector to list or group these hypotheses. Encourage students to criticize the categorization until some agreement is reached. Then list the numbers of the statements under each of the proper categories as suggested by the class.

5. When the students have completed their hypothesizing, compare their work to the conclusions of Rosenberg.

6. Ask students to develop a technique to test this hypothesis. Discuss the development of a scientific sample for a poll as time permits.

Materials:

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Teacher's Readings:

Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 247-253

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 44 to 51
SIXTH OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

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Example:	Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
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1. The ruling elite in the USSR can be best identified with which of the following?
   A. Council of Ministers
   B. Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
   [✓ C. Presidium of the Communist Party]
   D. Supreme Soviet

2. Which of the following conclusions would be valid based on the description of THE NEW CLASS by Milovan Djilas?
   A. In spite of all their efforts the Communists were not able to eradicate capitalists.
   [✓ B. In the USSR the rulers enjoy privileges not enjoyed generally by all Russians.]
   C. "The New Class" is a Soviet term used to describe a classless society.
   D. All of the above.

3. To an orthodox communist, Djilas' description of "The New Class" would be
   [✓ A. heretical] B. comforting C. thrilling D. challenging

4. In which of the following areas is political conflict most likely to take place in the USSR?
   A. Between local and national levels of government
   [✓ B. Within the Communist Party]
   C. Between Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers
   D. Within the bureaucracy

5. The idea to be understood from the lesson in which you filled out the time chart is
   A. that we are all busy.
   B. that there is always more time to study if we budget our time wisely.
   [✓ C. that to participate actively in politics will require giving up something you do now.]
   D. that we already give a great share of our time to politics.

Questions 6 to 11 refer to the following statements:

Speaker I. "I think politics is a lot like religion. People always get angry when you discuss it, and I don't like to have people angry with me."
Speaker II. "No, I never vote. The Democrats always win here anyway."
Speaker III. " What difference does it make if I take part in politics or not? Everyone knows the machine runs this city!"
Speaker IV. "I never pay much attention to politics. It's all so much 'hot air' so far as I am concerned."
Speaker V. "I like to read about politics, but I'm too dumb to participate actively."
Speaker VI. "Well if you must know, I am a Democrat, but the boss is a Republican. What would you do under these circumstances?"

6. Which of the above speakers avoids politics in order to prevent disharmony in his personal relationships?
   [✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. VI

7. Which of the above speakers avoids politics because of a lack of confidence?
   A. I B. II C. IV [✓ D. V]

8. Which of the above speakers avoids politics because of threats to occupational or professional success?
   A. II B. III C. IV [✓ D. VI]

9. Which of the above speakers avoids political participation because of a sense of futility, i.e., he feels he can have little or no influence over the final decision?
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. V

10. Which of the above speakers does not participate in politics because he feels the result is a foregone conclusion?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. V D. VI

11. Which of the above speakers does not participate in politics because it seems dull and uninteresting to him?
A. I B. III [✓ C. IV] D. V

Questions 12 to 16 refer to the following quotations:

I. "In the Soviet Union the Communist Party is simply an instrument for carrying out the personal desires of the leader."

II. "In the Soviet Union the Communist Party has renounced the ideological goals of Marx and its members seem determined to insure their own personal comfort."

III. "In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, decision-making and the struggle for power go hand-in-hand."

IV. "If a student wishes to understand the Soviet system he should spend more time in studying the Communist Party than in studying the framework of government."

V. "An analysis of the Soviet state shows it to be nothing more than the pawn of a clever band of criminals who are seeking only the advancement of their own private fortunes."

12. Which of the above speakers is describing Stalin's view of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. IV D. V

13. Which of the above speakers seems to be in agreement with Milovan Djilas?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

14. Which of the above speakers reveals the least understanding of how the Soviet system operates?
A. I B. III C. IV [✓ D. V]

15. Which of the above speakers reveals his understanding of the basic difference in the roles played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by American political parties?
A. V [✓ B. III] C. II D. I

16. Which of the above speakers is suggesting that formal rules count for little in the USSR?
A. V *B. IV C. III D. I

17. Real decision-making in the Soviet legislative process probably takes place in
A. the Supreme Soviet
*B. the Presidium of the Communist Party
C. the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
D. all of the above

18. The term "democratic centralism" means that
A. Soviet citizens are free to say what they wish.
*B. Soviet citizens may make suggestions only until an official policy has been proclaimed.
C. democracy in the Soviet Union is centered in the national government.
D. democracy is central to the whole fabric of Russian political life.

19. The study of New Haven by Robert A. Dahl indicated that people in New Haven gained their political information from
A. newspapers
B. radio and television
C. word-of-mouth contacts
*D. all of the above

20. The study by Robert A. Dahl states that voter interest would have been more evident over a school bond election than it was over the proposal to revise the city charter. How do you account for this?
A. Schools are more important than city charters.
B. Revision of a city charter makes little or no difference in the manner by which a city will be operated.
C. City charter proposals rarely get any publicity.
*D. People feel they know more about schools and their problems as a result of personal contact.

21. Dahl's study of New Haven proved
A. that a strong newspaper can control a small community.
B. that newspapers are of little real influence.
C. that television is more important in forming public opinion than are newspapers.
*D. none of the above.

22. Why did Professor Rosenberg refer to his research into voter apathy as an "exploratory study"?
    - I. He really wasn't trying to discover anything important but was doing it more as a hobby.
    - II. His sample was far too small and not chosen in a sufficiently scientific manner to be considered a complete and scientific study.
    - III. He was really looking for possible leads for further investigation.
    - IV. He was in the process of exploring a new locale when he accidently recorded these interviews.

    A. I and II *B. II and III C. II and IV D. III and IV

23. When Mr. Kennedy spoke to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, he declared that the government and the press jointly shared a responsibility to provide the American people with all the facts about policy decisions which they needed. Which of the following is the most accurate inference that can be drawn from the President's statement?
    - A. The government would provide all the information that the newspapers demanded.
    - B. The newspapers had to censor their news.
    - *C. The government and the newspapers should withhold any news they considered harmful to the best interest of the nation.
    - D. The government should establish a Censorship Office.

24. Questions 24 and 25 refer to the following quotation: "There have been times in the history of our party when the opinion of the majority of the party conflicted with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. On such occasions, Lenin resolutely took his stand on principle as against the majority of the party. A policy of principle is the only correct policy."

    The above quotation
    - *A. is opposed to the theory of Democratic Centralism.
    - B. is in agreement with the theory of Democratic Centralism.
    - C. describes the supreme role of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.
    - D. shows Lenin's belief in Democratic ideals.

25. Based on your knowledge of Stalin's methods of decision-making, determine which of the following statements would best describe Stalin's reaction to the above quotation:

*A. Stalin would have agreed with this quotation for it provides an ideological reason for his personal assumption of power.

B. Stalin would have agreed with this quotation because it shows clearly that all Party leaders must be subordinated to Party principles.

C. Stalin would have disagreed with this quotation because he believed that no leader should use Party principles to gain personal power.

D. Stalin would have disagreed with the quotation because he recognized the need for constructive criticism within the Party.

WHAT TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY MOST ENGAGE AMERICAN CITIZENS?

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. all Americans do not participate in politics to the same degree.
2. relatively few American citizens are absolute non-participants, although few American citizens take part in the many time-consuming political activities.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Knowledge of methodology 1.25
3. Application 3.00

Materials:

4 transparencies

Procedures:

1. A major aspect of this assignment is to develop the students' ability to use charts and graphs effectively. Therefore, as you develop the lesson, use the transparencies which have been prepared. As each chart or graph is placed on the projector, ask a student how it is to be read, i.e., how each of the symbols and scales are to be interpreted.
2. Use the questions which accompany each chart or graph to be certain that students are reading and interpreting them properly.
   Figure I
   1. In what year did the largest percentage of eligible voters vote in a presidential election?
   2. During what years did the smallest percentage of eligible voters vote in a presidential election?
   3. Did more people vote for president or for mayor?
   4. In general, did most people take advantage of the right to vote? In national elections? In local elections?
   5. According to the most recent figures given in Figure I, was political activity increasing or declining in 1950?
   6. Why is percentage of political activity figured in terms of population 21 years and over rather than in terms of general population statistics?
   7. During the early decades of the 20th century, there was a great rise in the number of immigrants entering the United States. Is this rise reflected in Figure I?

   Table I
   1. As political activity calls for greater personal involvement, is it more or less likely to attract participants?
   2. Are more people likely a) to attempt to convince others to vote a particular way or b) to work actively for a particular candidate or party?
   3. What factors (such as lack of time, money, interest) seem to be of major importance in keeping people from participating in political activity?

Figure 2 (Read carefully the explanation of terms given with this figure.)

1. What is the subject of this chart?
2. Of the 525 voters studied, how many vote and also engage in five or more additional political activities?
3. In how many political activities do the largest number of voters participate?
4. According to Figure 2, what percent of the group studied were non-voters?
5. How does this compare with non-voters indicated on Figure 1?
6. How do you account for the seeming difference in these figures?

Table 2

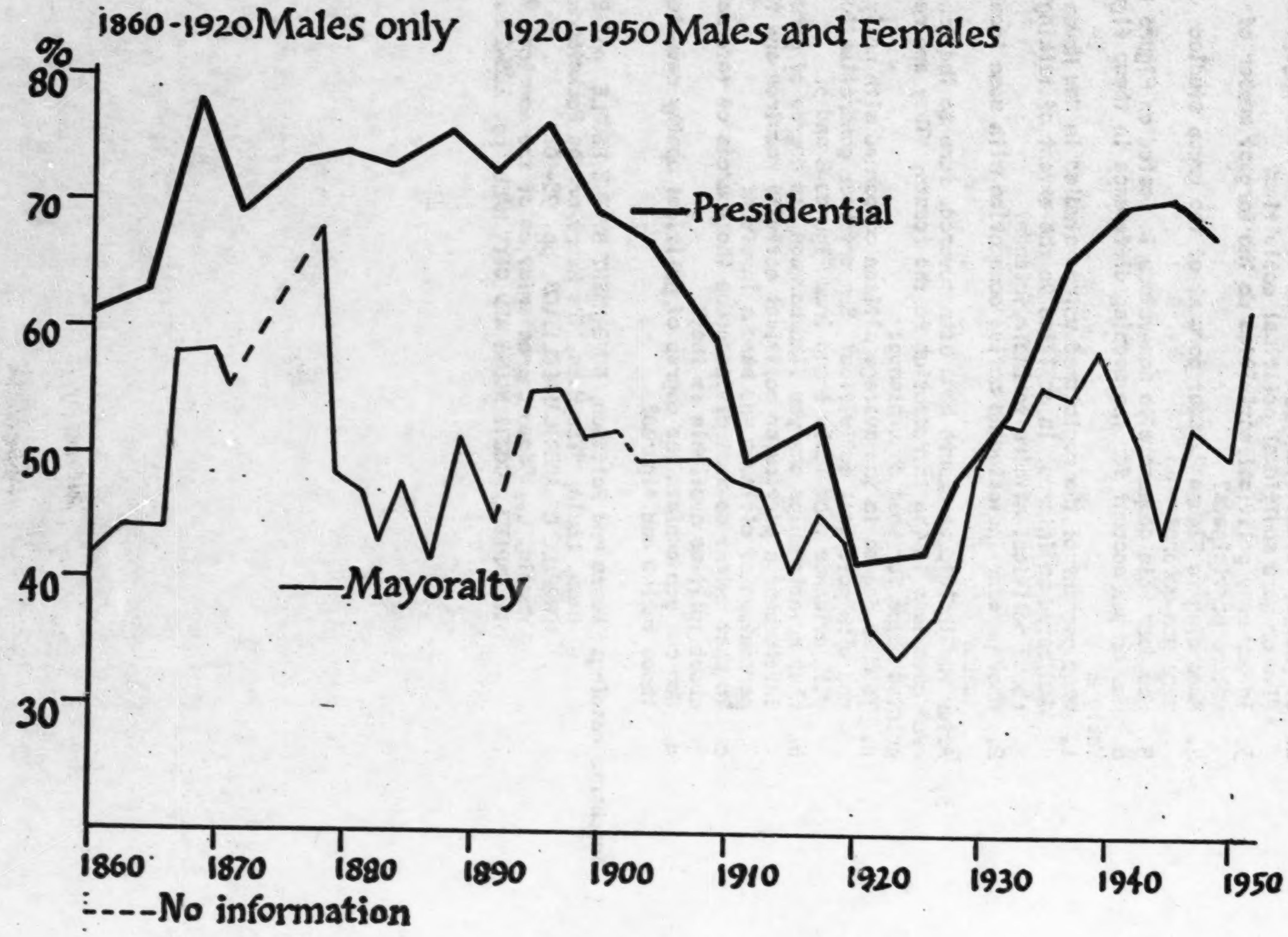
1. What percent of the registered voters studied in New Haven indicated an interest in politics to the extent of talking about political affairs to their friends?
2. What percent indicated an active connection with some local issue?

3. After the individual charts have been covered, turn to the general questions in the introduction to the lesson. They are reprinted below for your convenience:
    a. To what degree is the average citizen concerned with politics and with political activities? Support your generalization with evidence from Table 1 and from Figures 2 and 3.
    b. What relationships can you find between the degree of personal involvement a particular political activity requires and the percentage of citizens who become involved?
    c. To what extent do most citizens use the sources of information about politics available to them?
    d. How can you explain the degree of political apathy revealed by these tables and figures?

Teacher's reading: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 239-246.
Bean, Louis, "The Head, the Heart or the Pocketbook," in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 98-102.
Harris, L., "Some Characteristics of the American Voter," in CAPITOL, COURT HOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 288-296.

1-25

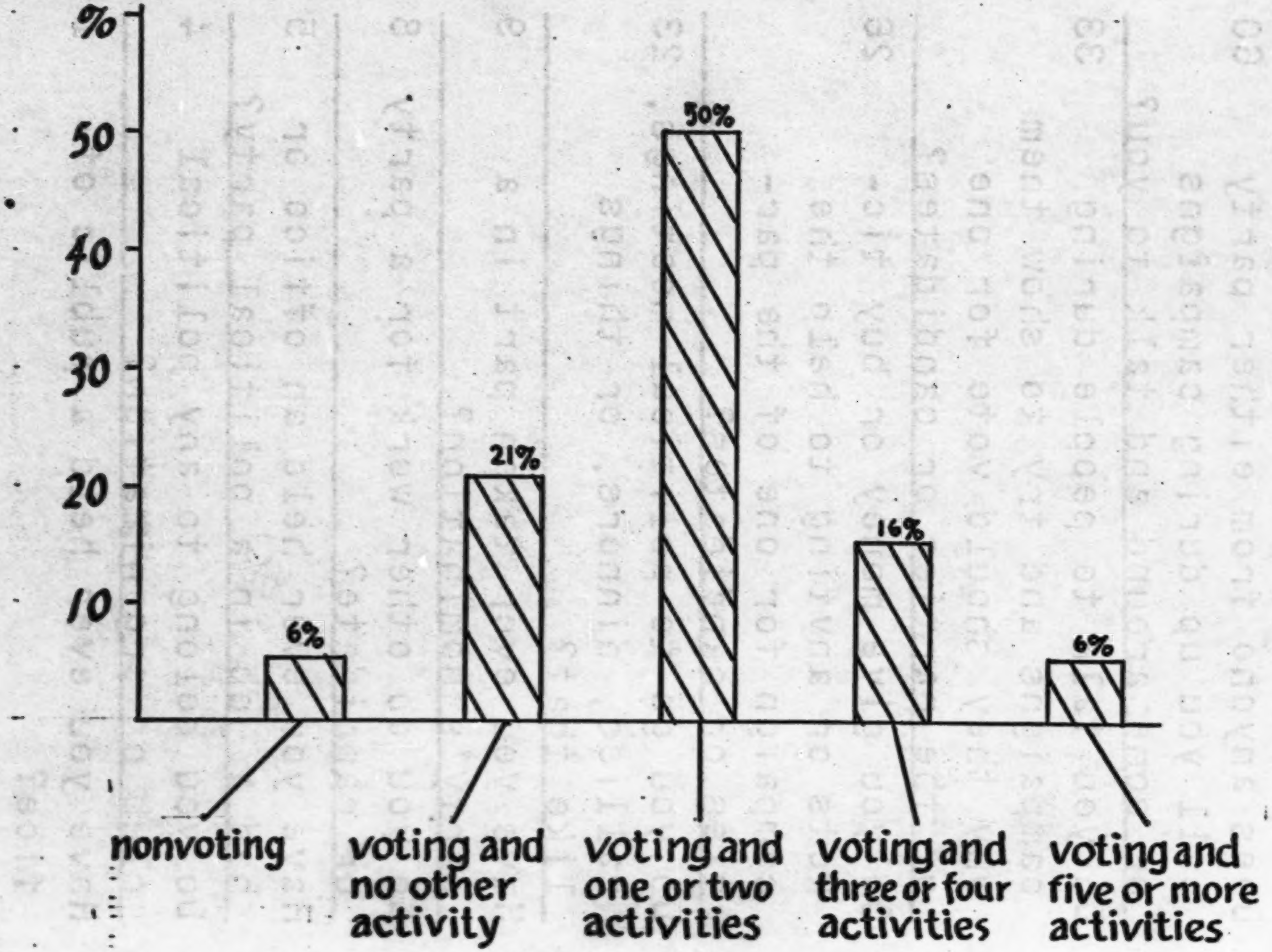
Comparative Percentages of Voters in Elections 1860-1950



CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION, BY KINDS OF ACTIVITIES: IN PERCENTAGES

Does anyone from either party call you up during campaigns or come around and talk to you?	60
Do you talk to people during campaigns and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?	33
Do you give money or buy tickets or anyting to help the campaign for one of the parties or candidates?	26
Do you go to political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?	23
Have you ever taken part in a party's nomination?	9
Do you do other work for a party or candidate?	8
Have you ever held an office or had a job in a political party?	5
Do you belong to any political club or organization?	4
Have you ever held a public office?	1

Campaign Participation by Number of Activities



52-3

52-4

ACTION IN LOCAL AFFAIRS, BY KINDS OF ACTIVITIES: IN PERCENTAGES

When you and your friends get together, do you ever talk about New Haven politics or local affairs?	47
Have you ever contacted any local public officials or politicians to let them know what you would like them to do on something you were interested in?	27
In the past year or so have you had any contact with political or governmental officials in New Haven?	16
During the past year or so have you yourself done anything actively in connection with some local issue or local problem--political or nonpolitical?	13

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS Lesson Plan: Day 53

GETTING INTO POLITICS

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. beginners usually have to start at the bottom in politics.
2. how you start in politics will depend greatly on the political environment, e.g., small town or metropolis, two strong parties or a single party monopoly, etc.
3. much of the work of political parties is routine and not very glamorous.
4. one must be prepared to accept intangible as well as tangible rewards for political activity.

Skill Objectives:

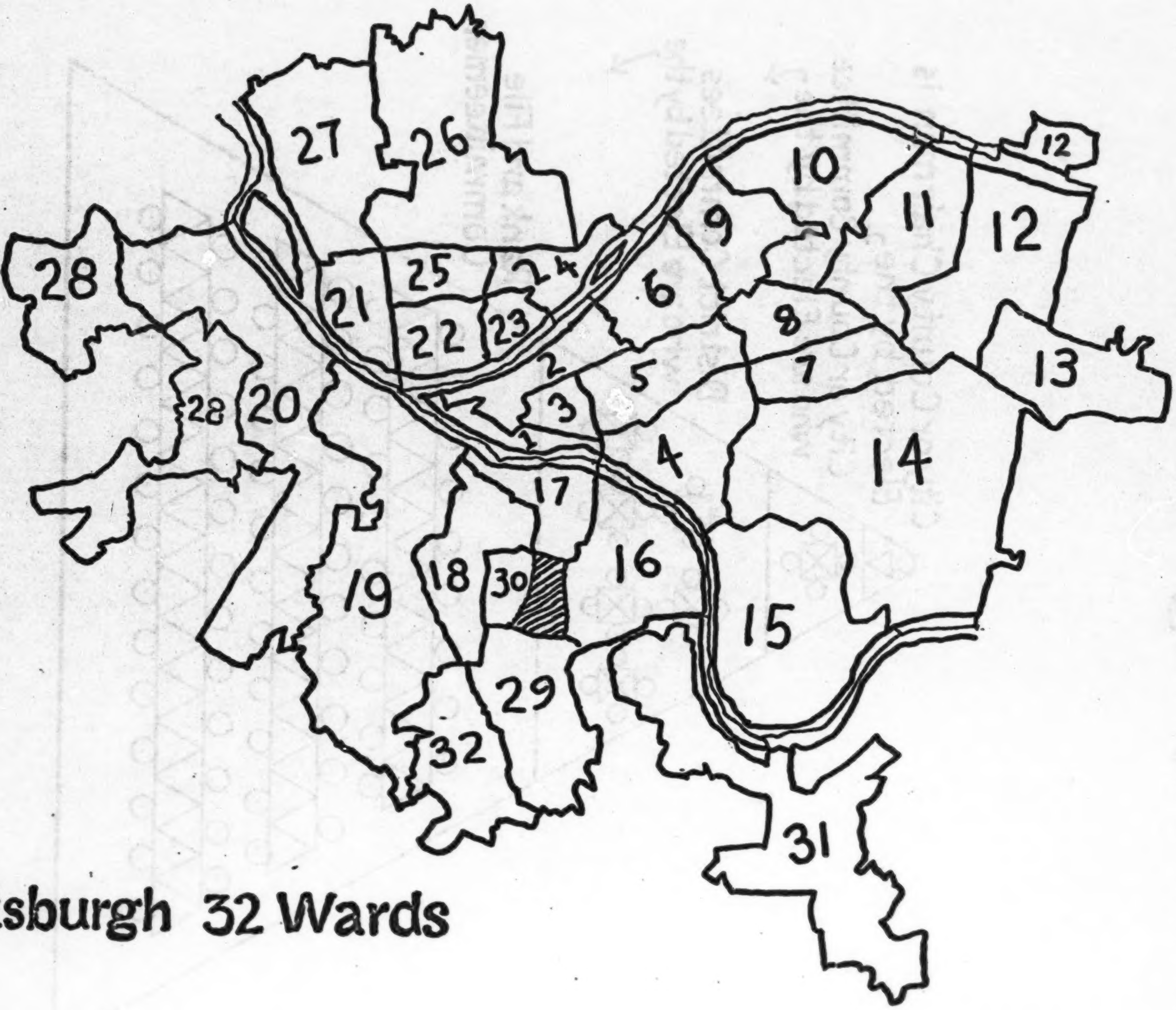
1. Translation 2.10
2. Application 3.00
3. Interpretation 2.20

Materials:

2 transparencies

Procedures:

1. Use the transparency showing a local party organization. This transparency conforms to the description in the reading by Senator Scott. Ask the class what the individuals on each level do and how they are chosen for that position.
2. Use the transparency showing the various wards in Pittsburgh. Ask students to explain how a political party would organize itself in each of these 32 wards.
3. Ask students what they believe are the essential qualities or characteristics one should have if he hopes to succeed in politics. One very important trait, for example, is loyalty to the party and to your followers.
4. One politician once described the way in which he began in politics in Chicago. He lived in an apartment house where a brother and a number of friends also lived. He went to each of them and said he wished to enter politics. He wondered if they would give him their unqualified support. Since they knew him, they agreed. He then went to the party headquarters in the ward and told them he controlled six votes which he could use in any way he chose. The party welcomed him, gave him a job, and he started up the ladder of political sucess. Ask students what this incident illustrates. (This novice politician offered two important things: willingness to work for and be loyal to a party, and some support of his own which he could use to promote both himself and the party.)
5. We have found that a man who hopes to succeed in politics must display loyalty to his party and loyalty to his supporters. What other personal charcteristics should such a man possess? (This man should have a "thick skin." He should be able to take the abuse that often accompanies a political campaign. This man should also be willing to take risks. Although the rewards of political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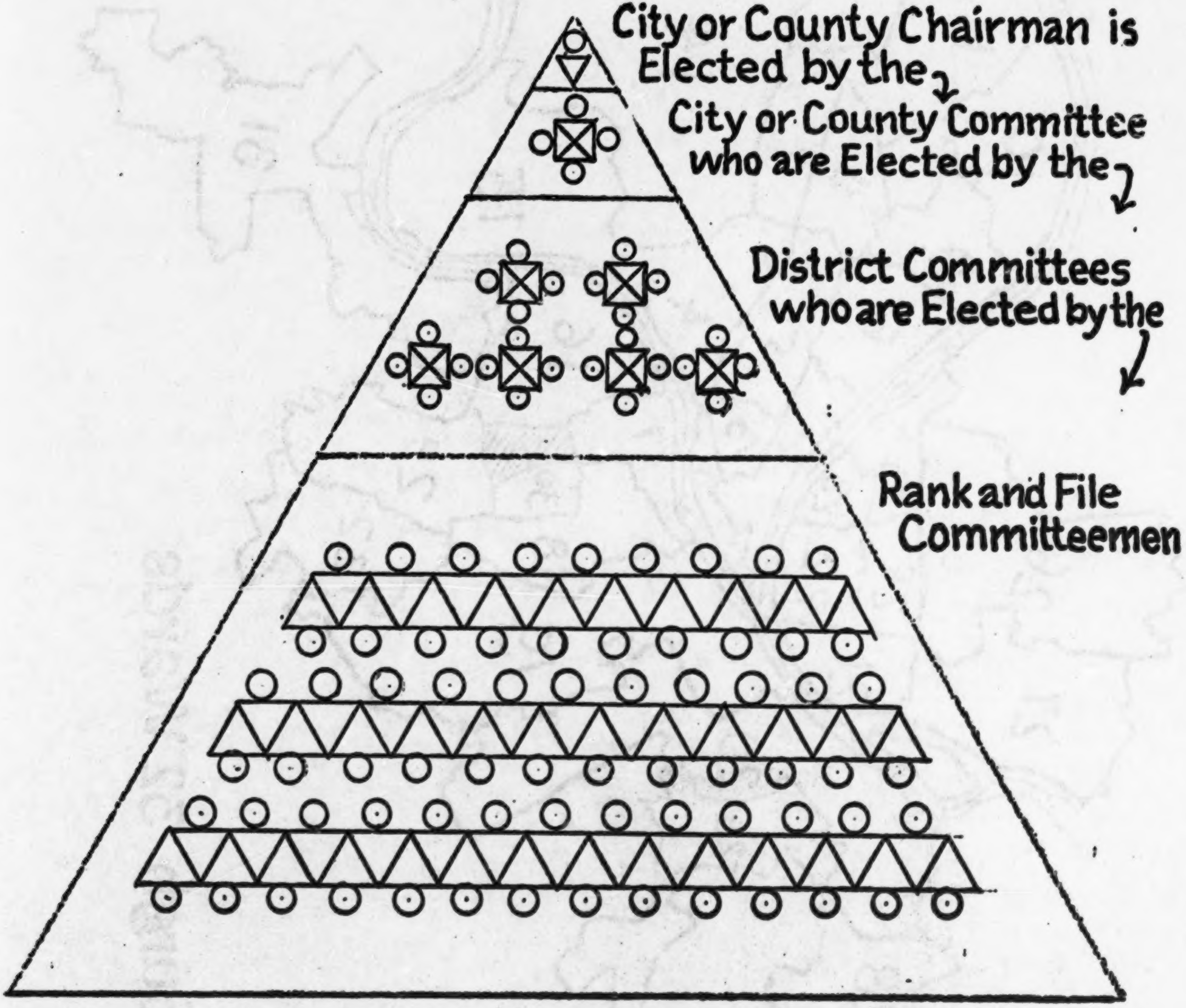
Pittsburgh 32 Wards

Local Party Organization


City or County Chairman is Elected by the
City or County Committee who are Elected by the
District Committees who are Elected by the
Rank and File Committeemen

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY OF FAILURE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. there are ways in which a citizen can gain the attention of government officials.
2. securing attention is not the same as obtaining a satisfactory settlement; for a variety of reasons government may refuse to act to remove the citizen's grievance.
3. the real trick is not how to gain the ear but the will of the government administrator or legislator.
4. gaining access to government officials means influencing these officials to act favorably on your request.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Interpretation 2.20
3. Development of a set of abstract relations 5.30

Procedures:

1. What is implied by the phrase "gaining access" to Government?
2. Review with students the essential details of the case.
3. Is it possible that the city officials suspected other motives behind Mrs. Walker's actions other than her problem with the bees?
4. What steps did Mrs. Walker adopt in her attempt to secure action against Mr. Teeters?
5. What other possible techniques could she have used?
6. What kind of moral issue does such a case as this one present to an administrator?
7. Do you think it would have been different had the complaint come from one of the community's business or civic leaders?
8. Would Mrs. Walker have had greater success if she had tried to apply pressure via the political parties rather than appealing directly to the city officials?
9. Ask students to develop a hypothesis about the requirements for successful access from this case.

Teacher's readings: Hutchins, Robert, "Is Democracy Possible?" in GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, pp. 586-593.
Seese, G.L., "Local Democracy Gets a Workout," in CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL, pp. 238-240.
White, Theodore, "The Battle of Athens, Tennessee," in POLITICS U.S.A., pp. 531-541.

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SUCCESS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. some citizens have more success in gaining the support of city government than do other citizens.
2. success seems to be related to the nature of the problem, the number and kinds of people affected, and the prestige of those who are suggesting the remedies.
3. the "ruling elite" of a community often gets favorable action on its suggestions.

Skill Objectives:
Production of a unique communication 5.10
Comprehension 2.00
Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Pass out the essay exams, and give students 20 minutes to complete them.
2. How does this problem differ from the one yesterday involving the "bothersome bees"?
   a. How many people are involved?
   b. Are there different types of people involved in the two cases?
   c. Is there a difference in the seriousness of the problem?
3. What role can be said to have been played by a "ruling elite" in Beloit? Who may be in this elite? How did they operate? Would they have been equally concerned about the bees?
4. What part did the city council itself play in arriving at a solution to the problem?
5. What do these two cases tell you about the ways one must act in order to get action? Whose support is it desirable to have?

Materials:
Essay examinations

Teacher's Readings: ---

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. there are two ways in which individuals can gain access to government officials, by helping those get elected who support his point of view and by writing letters to political decision makers.
2. letters can receive attention if written in a frank, logical, and unemotional style.
3. a Congressman's vote is influenced by many things--chiefly his own opinion, party policy, and the wishes of his constituents. A citizen's wishes will be given more consideration on some matters than on others.

Skill Objectives:

1. Analysis of elements 4.10
2. Comprehension 2.00

Materials:

One transparency
One tape

Procedures:

1. Review the listed ways of Gaining Access to Government Officials. What factors influenced the participation of American doctors in the Congressional elections of 1950? What action did they take? Were they successful? Why?

2. Place the transparency on the overhead projector. Ask students to explain the meaning of the transparency. What is the single most influential factor in the vote of Congressmen? What influence did constituents' views have upon these Congressmen?
3. Use the tape of Congressman William Moorhead. This taped interview will require 10 minutes playing time. The purpose of the tape is to discover the degree of influence letters from constituents have on the final vote cast by a member of Congress. Moorhead indicates there are generally three types of issues which recur in Congress. There are issues on which he feels his constituents are not in a position to be totally aware of what is needed. In such cases, he depends more upon his own judgment. There are other issues on which one votes a straight party line, e.g., selection of the Speaker of the House. There are a third group of issues--generally domestic--within the concern and capacity of Pittsburgh citizens on whose advice and support Congressman Moorhead leans heavily. This is the area in which letter-writing is most effective.
4. What kind of care does Congressman Moorhead give his mail? Is it more or less personal than that of the Senator described in the reading?
5. How would you go about writing to your Congressman? On what occasions would you normally write? How would you say what you want to say?

Teacher's reading: Maciver, R.M., "The Role of the People," in BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, pp. 13-19.

SCRIPT OF TAPE: MOORHEAD INTERVIEW

Congressman Moorhead, could you take just a minute or so to tell us very briefly about your own background - where you are from, what sort of education do you have, how much experience you had in politics before you entered Congress.

Mr. Mehlinger, I was born and grew up in Pittsburgh. I have college education and also a law school education. After law school I became a member of the bar of Allegheny County and practised law in Pittsburgh. I did not hold any elective office before I went to Congress but I did work on various private civic groups and public bodies such as the Allegheny County Housing Authority and the Pittsburgh Art Commission. I was also for a matter of three years an Assistant City Solicitor of the City of Pittsburgh law department. I also served on citizens' committees for various political campaigns including being chairman of the Pennsylvanians for Governor Lawrence and Governor Leader in his attempt to be elected to the United States Senate.

Congressman, would you take another minute now to tell us about your district - how many people are in it and from what backgrounds do these people come.

Mr. Mehlinger, my district is about two-thirds of the city of Pittsburgh. It's all of the city between the two rivers and also the North Side of the city. There are between 390,000 and 400,000 people in the district and they come from a very wide and diverse set of ethnic and other backgrounds. We go from the downtown businessmen, out through the Hill District and into the university areas. There are five institutions of higher learning in my district. We have the very rich and the very poor; the very well educated and the very poorly educated. We have people whose ancestors for generations back have lived in the United States and we have people who are first generation from Europe, particularly from Poland, from Italy and other eastern European countries.

Congressman Moorhead, as you know, we are particularly interested in the way the voters in your district can get access to you. That is, that they can get your ear and get their opinions to you. Can you tell us about how many letters you get in a typical week?

First of all, Mr. Mehlinger, the access to a member of Congress who has to run for reelection every year is very easy for the people. We cannot get very far away from them. As far as letters - I would say that we probably average, when Congress is in session, oh, about 50 letters per day for the five-day period, say 250 letters a week.

We know that a Congressman is a very busy man; how many of these letters are you actually able to read for yourself rather than have a member of your staff read?

I personally read every letter except one that merely says, "Please send me the government publication on such and such." There's no reason for me to read that particular one and the staff just prepares a letter saying, "Enclosed herewith..." or "under separate cover we are sending you the booklet ...that you requested." With that exception, or maybe something very routine, I see and read every letter that comes into the office.

Therefore every letter receives attention by a member of the staff or by you?

We do make an exception in the case of form letters that are from outside of Pennsylvania - outside of Pittsburgh - that I might not read every letter and from the outside of Pennsylvania, I might not read every letter. But with that exception, every letter receives my personal attention.

Then in answering, would you take it upon yourself to answer or do you.. how do you handle this problem? Certainly you couldn't spend all your day writing letters; I'm aware of that.

No. I find that the members of my staff know enough of my views so that in most cases they will be able to prepare an answer for me. However I will read them and sometimes change them. Of course when a letter expressing .. asking questions on a legislative issue on which I have not yet taken a position or in answering previous mail, this will come directly to me and I will dictate a reply to that letter.

Perhaps you've already answered this question, but I'm concerned about just exactly what type of letter would get your direct attention - that you'd feel that you'd have to take it on yourself to answer. Essentially just what you said?

Yes, essentially what I've said. If..well an issue that's come up like the tax bill. If a letter is very much like the letter we answered yesterday, this would be the same type of answer would be prepared but I would look over the incoming and our proposed reply and if I approved, sign it so that almost all mail gets my personal attention.

Congressman Moorhead, in addition to writing the letters, what other ways does a voter have to gain access to your ear - petitions, visits - how can he gain access to you?

Well I think that the visit is - the visit is the next way it occurs to me. I come to Pittsburgh usually a day or two every other week at least during the session. Of course, more often when Congress is not in session - if that ever happens this year. And I have an office which is kept open year round and anyone can come in at any time and the office will be available, open to him, and if the visitor wants particularly to talk to me, he makes an appointment through my office and the next time I am in Pittsburgh an appointment is scheduled for him and he can meet with me. We in Congress often receive petitions; this would be a letter signed by a number of people requesting that I vote for or against certain issue that's before the Congress.

What I'm interested in now is - suppose that you have visitors who come to see you - a delegation of visitors. Are you more likely to be influenced by a delegation of visitors who come to see you rather than an individual who feels very strongly about an issue. Or how about the group appeals through letters rather than individual appeals. Do numbers mean anything to you in terms of influence?

Of course numbers do - we are interested in having the majority of the voters vote for us so that a group does have more influence, more power than any individual. But insofar as petitions are concerned, which is a form of group appeal, I think that individual letters that people take the trouble to write out their - even a postcard individually. This shows that they feel the issue more strongly than if they merely sign their name to the petition - bottom of the petition because almost any citizen will sign any petition if he's asked to do so by a friend. However, insofar as the individuals are concerned, if a particular individual knows a subject - he made a study of it, his background really contributes to an analysis of the issues - this is even more influential than a group would be. If the group doesn't know the subject as well as the individual does.

Congressman Moorhead, a 1939 study which is included in the Readings for this course indicates that a number of factors influenced the vote of some 80 congressmen on the matter of the arms embargo in 1939. Those congressmen interviewed indicated that the most influential factor in their vote was their own independent judgment, that party considerations were the second most influential factors and that constituent's view as reflected in their letters and talks to constituents ranked third. Do you think that members of Congress generally are influenced most by independent judgment, then party considerations, then by their constituents' views?

I think, Mr. Mehlinger, you cannot say that..you cannot generalize too much on that. I think that it depends a good deal on the issue that's involved. You mentioned the arms embargo. This is a matter of international policy; it's a matter of war or peace. Personally, I believe that most members of Congress, and I certainly speak for myself - on an issue like this would be influenced primarily by their own independent judgment and study of the problem. For example, there was a recent vote on the nuclear test ban. I respect entirely the judgments of the senators who voted one way or the other but I believe that the most important thing that they considered in that thing was their own independent judgment of which way led more likely to war or peace. Now, when you get to a subject like - well, electing a speaker of the House of Representatives - there, in my judgment, party considerations come first - we have to have responsible parties and if my constituents wanted me to vote for Charlie Halleck instead of John McCormick, I as a Democrat would feel that I must give party considerations first consideration. Now another category of issues which are domestic issues where the problem is relatively simple and the issues are black and white, then the influence or opinions of my constituents would probably move into first place or at least be given much, much more weight than it would in a situation like the arms embargo or the nuclear test ban.

According to the definition we normally understand of democracy, democracy means the people rule. Now if you have the situation where the problem is one of technical knowledge and the representative decides that the poeple in his district may not have all the information they need to make that decision, if he makes it according to his own conscience, hasn't he really violated the whole theory and idea behind democracy?

I don't believe so, Mr. Mehlinger, because the fundamental protection to the people - particularly in the case of the House of Representatives, is that the people have the option of voting in November to get rid of the man who voted contrary to their wishes and this is the fundamental protection that gives us a representative democracy. And you say that I vote my judgment as opposed to the people's judgment on a technical issue. Very frequently I think that I am voting the way the people would if they had access to the information and the facts that I have had and the opportunity to make the study that I have had, so that I think at times that I am voting the way they would vote if they were in the position that I was in. I think that the system which we have of..particularly in the House of Representatives ..of the election every other year makes the danger that the member of Congress will be over-responsive rather than under-responsive and I believe that at times it is right and proper for a member of Congress to vote his conscience - to vote the way he thinks the people would if they had access to all of the facts and then take his chances of explaining his action when he's justifying his claim for reelection.

Thank you very much, Congressman Moorhead. That is very clear and we do appreciate the time that you've given for this taped interview.

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INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN VOTE OF 83 CONGRESSMEN
(According to the testimony of secretaries and newspaper correspondents)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Totals
Independent Judgment	38	15	3	0	(41,5%)
Party Considerations	29	13	2	1	(33,0%)
Constituents' Views	13	14	4	0	(19,5%)
Congressional Debates	1	1	3	0	(2,0%)
Peace Lobbyists	0	1	2	0	(1,0%)
Public Leaders	1	0	0	0	(1.0%)
Particular Newspaper	1	0	0	0	(1,0%)
War Dept. Influence	0	2	0	0	(1.0%)
	83	46	14	1	

GAINING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT THROUGH AN INTEREST GROUP

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. one is more likely to gain access to state and national governments as a member of a group rather than as an individual.
2. interest groups use direct means (election support of officials, lobbying) and indirect means (creating public opinion) to influence public officials.
3. interest groups tend to have greater influence on the legislative and administrative branches of government than on the judicial.
4. propaganda is one of the chief means employed by interest groups to gain public support.

Skill Objectives:

1. Translation 2.10
2. Interpretation 2.20
3. Analysis of elements 4.10
4. Application 3.00

Materials:

One transparency
One tape

Procedures:

1. Begin class by questioning students about the meaning of interest groups. Stress the ease of political accessability possessed by these groups when compared to the efforts of individuals.
2. Why do interest groups tend to have more influence on the legislative and administrative branches of government than upon the judicial branch? (Federal judges are appointed and accessability to the judicial branch is more difficult to obtain.)
3. Using the transparency, have students identify the direct and indirect means used by interest groups to influence public officials. What is the basic function of the indirect approach? (To create favorable public opinion about groups' ideas.) What three purposes are achieved by this approach?
4. Refer to the arrow on the transparency marked "Deceptive Propaganda." What does propaganda mean? Let students guess at meaning then pass out Class Reading. Give students a few minutes to read the handout. This reading describes the seven basic types of propaganda appeals.
5. When students are finished reading, announce that you are going to play a tape commenting on propaganda and containing speeches representative of the seven appeals. Students are to listen and to identify each appeal. The teacher should interrupt the tape after each appeal to permit discussion.
6. The students should summarize points brought up in the discussion.

Teacher's readings: Burns and Peltason, GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, pp. 303-313, pp. 272-275.
Turner, Henry, "How Pressure Groups Operate," in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 87-94.

SOME PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

NAME-CALLING: giving an idea a bad label--used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence.

GLITTERING GENERALITY: associating an idea with a "virtue word"--is used to make us accept and approve the idea without examining the evidence.

TRANSFER: carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable.

TESTIMONIAL: consists of having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad.

PLAIN FOLKS: the method by which a speaker tries to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people," the "plain folks."

CARD-STACKING: involves selecting truths or falsehoods, logic or illogic, to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product.

BAND WAGON: with this, the propagandist tries to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong accept his program and that we must therefore follow our crowd and "jump on the band wagon."

SCRIPT OF TAPE: PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

Some of the devices used by propagandists are as old as language. Many of us use them in one form or another in our daily dealings with each other. Propagandists, however, have seized upon these techniques, analyzed them, refined them and experimented with them until they have become tremendously powerful weapons designed to sway popular opinions and actions. On this tape we have recorded a number of appeals each of which employs one or more of the popular devices used by professional propagandists. After you hear an appeal we will stop the tape so that you can identify it.

Quotation #1: "Just look at his shortcomings. He is always late to committee meetings; he is inarticulate on the floor of the House; he has no major legislation connected with his name and he often votes against the plainly expressed desires of his constituents." (answer: card stacking)

Quotation #2: "Social Security is communistic. Good people have to give up their hard-earned money for undeserving characters who do not work for their bread. Why should people be forced to give up what they have earned to those loafers?" (answer: name calling)

Quotation #3: "Integration must be a good thing. The National Council of Churches, the American Rabbinate and all the American Cardinals support it. So do both the presidential candidates. What further evidence could you ask? (answer: testimonial)

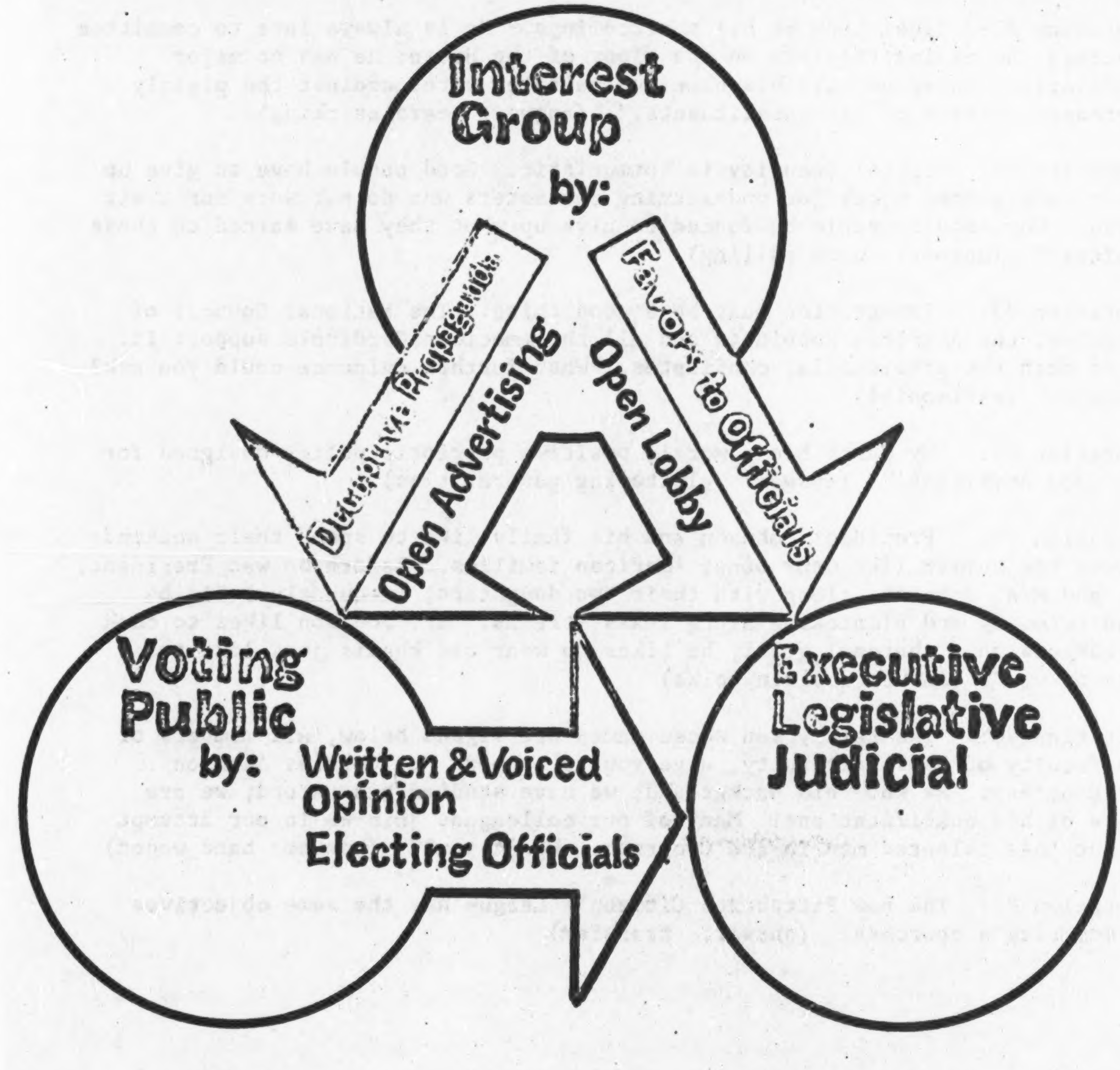
Quotation #4: "My party has a moral, positive patriotic policy designed for all good Americans." (answer: glittering generalities)

Quotation #5: "President Johnson and his family like to spend their weekends during the summer like many other American families. Before he was President, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, along with their two daughters, frequently could be seen swimming and picnicking along Texas streams. Mr. Johnson likes to cook hamburgers on a charcoal grill; he likes to wear old khakis just like the rest of us." (answer: plain folks)

Quotation #6: "The thirty men whose names are signed below, all members of the faculty of this university, urge you to support Mr. Charles Adamson for Congress. We know his background; we have studied his record; we are aware of his qualifications. Many of our colleagues join us in our attempt to put this talented man in the Congress. Won't you?" (answer: band wagon)

Quotation #7: The new Pittsburgh Citizen's League has the same objectives as our city's churches. (answer. transfer)

Methods of Interest Groups


Interest Group by:
Distributing Propaganda
Open Advertising
Favors to Officials
Open Lobby
Voting Public by:
Written & Voiced Opinion
Electing Officials
Executive Legislative Judicial

A CASE STUDY IN GROUP ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the National Association of Manufacturers used direct and indirect means to gain access to government in the case of the Wagner Act.
2. the N.A.M. was able to achieve its goal because of the large resources it could draw upon to sustain its program.
3. the means used by the N.A.M. to influence public opinion can be labelled propaganda since these views were often partial and subjective.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Interpretation 2.20
3. Analysis of elements 4.10

Materials:

Two transparencies

Procedures:

1. The teacher should describe the purpose of the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. What was the original purpose for the founding of the N.A.M.? Who belongs to the N.A.M.? Why did N.A.M. oppose the Wagner Act?
2. Let's review the direct and indirect means to influence public officials.
3. Next place on projector the transparency with the general outline of N.A.M. activities from 1934 to 1947. Use this transparency to reconstruct the reading. When did the N.A.M. first begin to fight the Wagner Act? (Before it was passed in 1934.) Did it employ direct or indirect means at this time? (Direct--Testimony before Senate Committee.) What indirect means were used by N.A.M. in 1936? How did the N.A.M. hope to get its message to the public? (News service, cartoons--Uncle Abner, etc. Let students enumerate these.) What was objective of this publicity drive? (To gain public support for declaration of unconstitutionality of the Wagner Act.) Did the change in strategy affect the publicity? (No. The N.A.M. simply began to emphasize labor's abuses of its newly won privileges.)
4. What kind of an organization would it take to put on such a publicity campaign? (A wealthy organization. Dwell on this fact pointing up the need for resources to continue an anti-labor campaign.)
5. In 1936, the government passed the Walsh-Healey Act, thereby withdrawing government contracts from low-wage employers. How did the N.A.M. react to this? (Direct action on House Appropriations Committee.) What does this show? (N.A.M. getting favorable hearing in some governmental circles.)
6. Continue the questioning, drawing out the story from the outline to show how N.A.M. influence grew through direct and indirect means.

7. Now let's see if we can draw some general conclusions about interest groups from this case. When direct means of influence failed from 1934 to 1936, how did N.A.M. build up a receptive frame of mind in government officials? (Through its publicity program. The teacher can use the transparency from Lesson #57 to show how the public, affected by the message of an interest group, reacts on political leaders.) What direct means were used in 1939? (Conferences in Washington and dinners at the state level.) Were they successful? (Yes. Seen in state legislation in 1939.) Can we say that both direct means and indirect means were necessary to the success of the N.A.M. in this matter? (Yes.) How was the publicity program of N.A.M. propaganda? (Let students discuss this issue before drawing a conclusion.)
8. Have students summarize the main points brought out in this final discussion. The teacher should announce to students that the paper on the Fuertes Association (assignment for Reading #59) is to be turned in on Friday. An objective examination is scheduled for Thursday. Students are to prepare for the exam, (Readings 52-59), read Reading #59 and be prepared to discuss the general topic of gaining access to government.

Teacher's readings: Plano and Greenberg, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, p. 279 - Wagner Act, p. 277 - Walsh-Healey Act, p. 278 - Taft-Hartley Act.
N.A.M. News, "N.A.M. Round-up on Congress: 1958," in PROFILE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, pp. 270-273.

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1934-NAM appears before Senate Committee to stop passage of Wagner Act.

1936-NAM begins Publicity Campaign. NAM Lobbyists gain ear of House Appropriations Committee.

1939-NAM conferences with Legislative and Administrative officials in Washington, dinners held at state levels.

1945-NAM Washington lobby is enlarged.

1946-Labor strikes; NAM publicity takes advantage of strikes.
Case Bill passes Congress-Pres. Veto.

1946-Sympathetic Congress-NAM lobbies, NAM publicizes. NAM is wittness at House Labor Committee Hearings.

1947-Taft-Hartley Act is Passed.

A PROBLEM IN ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. In order to achieve its purposes an interest group must be able to gain access to government
2. In order to gain access to government, or influence political decision makers that the interest group expresses the will of many voters, or can influence many voters

Skill Objectives:
Production of a unique communication 5.10

Procedures:

1. The teacher will distribute the objective examination, allowing the students fifteen minutes for completion.
2. The students will have already read the Fuertes assignment (Reading #59). The teacher should announce that the written assignment on the Fuentes problem should be turned in the next day. (Friday)
3. The teacher should spend a few minutes discussing with the class various means that can be used by interest groups to gain access to government. By no means should the teacher give answers to the assignment. The discussion questions should be general and should not deal with the Fuertes problem. Some suggested questions follow:

   What must an interest group do in order to gain access to government? How can an interest group convince governmental decision makers that it expresses the will of the voters? Why do you think that an interest group can be more successful in gaining access to government than an individual citizen?

4. Permit the class to use the remaining time period writing their papers - the assignment for Reading #59.

Following are a few possible answers that may be used by students in solving the Fuertes problem.

Since the Fuertes Association traditionally votes Republican, their 1,025 votes could be used in a direct manner by:

A. Bargaining with Governor - Representatives of the Fuertes Association can callow the Republican Governor. Stressing the importance of their cause, the preservation of birds, these representatives could remind the Governor of the factionalized position of the Republican Party.

and the 1,025 Republican votes of the Fuertes Association. Once this point is clearly made, the representatives could ask the Governor for written pledge to support any cat-belling legislation and to refrain from vetoing any such legislation. If the Governor refuses, the Fuertes representatives could seek out the other Republican candidate for Governor and make the same offer.

B. Bargaining with Republican legislators as above.

C. Bargaining with Senator Zachary of Zenith County.

The Fuertes Association should also conduct an advertising campaign which describes the pitiful plight of the birds. Phrases such as "Let's save our feathered friends" might well bring pressure to bear upon legislators from the public to do just that.

Fuertes Group can also promise to support any Republican opponents of the Incumbent Republican legislators.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS READINGS 52-59
SEVENTH OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last about fifteen minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
	1. Chicago is a A) state. B) city. C) country. D) continent.	1. A [✓ B] C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one and then return to questions you have left blank toward the end of the examination time. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

1. According to Senator Hugh Scott, the way to begin in politics is
   A. to know someone.
   B. to join a powerful interest group
   C. to wait until you are asked.
   *D. to agree to do whatever political task needs to be done.

2. According to Senator Scott, a person is likely to derive the greatest satisfaction from politics
   A. if he doesn't commit himself too deeply.
   B. if he makes it only a part-time job.
   *C. if he has both selfish and selfless reasons for entering politics.
   D. if he goes into politics simply to help others and intends to derive no material rewards for himself.

3. Theoretically at least who has the most personal contact with the rank and file members of a political party?
   *A. Precinct committeeman
   B. Ward chairman
   C. City chairman
   D. State chairman

4. Congressman Moorehead's vote is most likely to be influenced by which of the following?
   A. Individual judgment
   B. Party considerations
   C. Opinions of constituents
   *D. It is not possible to generalize; it is dependent upon the issue under debate

Questions 5 to 8 refer to the following statements which suggest ways in which one can get action from a city government:

I It is much easier to get action from a city government when you can direct attention to an existing ordinance you wish to have enforced.

II If your proposal requires some unusual action on the part of the city government it will be much easier to get such action if you can gain the support of the power elite of the community.

III The more status or prestige a person has in the community the more likely he is to gain the ear of the city officials.

IV A person is much more likely to get a favorable response leading to action by the city if he can show that the problem which concerns him concerns many others as well.

5. According to Sanitary Officer Goldschmidt the city was unable to solve Mrs. Walker's problem with the bees because which one of the above was lacking?
   [✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

6. In an attempt to strengthen her case with the city council, Mrs. Walker adopted which of the above techniques?
   A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

7. In spite of her obstacles Mrs. Walker could possibly have had greater success with the city if she could have found a way to exploit which of the above?
   A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

8. In the case of the Beloit Bus Crisis, which of the above factors motivated the city to act?
   A. I, II, III
   [✓ B. II, III, IV]
   C. I, III, IV
   D. I, II, III, IV

9. Perhaps the best way to describe a Congressman's approach to his mail is to say that

   I he pays little attention to it.
   II he gives more attention to some letters than to others.
   III he answers some of the letters and others are answered by members of his staff.
   IV he is more likely to be impressed by those letters distinguished by logic and knowledge than those filled with passion and emotion.

   A. I, II B. I, II, III C. II, III [✓ D. II, III, IV]

Pressure groups seek to advance their individual interests in each of the following ways:

A. By direct pressure on the legislature
B. By direct pressure on the executive branch
C. By direct pressure on the courts
D. By indirect pressure through influencing public opinion

Which technique is being stressed over all others in statements 10-13? Warning: Some answer may be used more than once and some not at all.

10. An executive of a large corporation buys television time to talk to the American people about taxes. D

11. The American Federation of Labor meets with the President and insists that it have the final word on who is to be appointed Secretary of Labor. B

12. The Secretary of Defense is invited by the South Dakota Chamber of Commerce to investigate the possibilities for a major air force base in South Dakota. B

13. A newspaper article revealed that 1/3 of the members of a certain state legislature were under retainer by major oil companies in that state. A

14. Which of the following would not seem to be a legitimate function of a pressure group?
A. Provide technical information to legislators who are preparing legislation
B. Testify before Congressional committees that are preparing legislation
*C. Offer to contribute to the campaign fund of a given legislator in return for a friendly vote
D. Ask the public to write their Congressmen requesting passage of certain legislation

15. In general, groups have a greater influence on government leaders than do individuals because
A. in a democracy the majority rules.
B. a group opinion is generally better than an individual one.
*C. groups theoretically control more votes than do individuals.
D. groups tend to express the mood of America better than do individuals.

Questions 16 to 20:
The following table describes political activity of the American people. On the basis of the information contained in this table, answer the questions which follow.

WHO PLAYS POLITICS?

Political Activity Score of the American People	Per cent
Very Active	10
Active	17
Inactive	35
Very Inactive	38

Affiliations of Politically Active	Politically Very Active	Population as a Whole
	100%	100%
Democrats	39.8	48.9
Republicans	43.8	32.7
Independents	16.4	18.4

PERCENTAGE OF VOTERS WHO VOTED ONCE IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS

	Per cent
Total Population	52
By Occupation	
Housewife	44
Professional	74
Executive	75
White-collar	63
Labor	47
Farmer	52
By Sex	
Men	57
Women	45
By Age	
21-34 years old	40
35-49	59
50 and over	60

	Per cent
By Economic Status	
Prosperous	77
Upper middle income	63
Lower middle income	56
Poor	37
By Education	
Grade school or less	43
High school	52
College	66
By Size of Place	
Over 100,000	52
2500 to 100,000	57
Under 2500	48
By Region	
Northeast	62
Midwest	56
South	39
Far West	48

16. According to the table, approximately what per cent of the total American population are Democrats who are politically very active?
[✓ A. 4%] B. 10% C. 40% D. 60%

17. According to the table, approximately what per cent of the Republicans are politically very active when compared to all Americans who are politically very active?
A. 18% B. 33% [✓ C. 44%] D. 65%

(Questions 18, 19, 20 on the following page still refer to this table.)

18. According to the table, what can one say about Democrats when compared to Republicans?

[✓ A.] There are more Democrats than Republicans.
B. Democrats tend to be more active politically than Republicans.
C. There are more women Democrats than women Republicans.
D. Independents are more likely to vote for Democrats than Republicans.

19. Which group is most likely to profit from a large voter-turnout?

A. Republicans
[✓ B.] Democrats
C. Independents
D. Cannot conclude from the table

20. Based on the table, which of the following statements are true?

I People in the Midwest voted in a higher proportion than for the nation as a whole but less than the Northeast
II One can predict that the more money a person has the more likely he is to vote.
III One can predict that the more education a person has the more likely he is to vote.
IV One can predict that the larger the city in which a person lives the more likely he is to vote.

A. I & II
B. I, II, & IV
[✓ C.] I, II, & III
D. I, II, III, & IV

21. "Gaining access" to a political system means

[✓ A.] to somehow influence the decision-making.
B. to join the government through a civil service appointment.
C. to become active in politics.
D. to be elected to a political post.

Questions 22 to 25 all refer to the following statements that indicate ways of gaining access to the three branches of the government.

I. Prepare a brief including the most recent court opinions concerning the topic under question.
II. Secure A.F.of L. backing for your proposal.
III. Secure an appointment for one of your supporters in a key federal agency.
IV. Ask all the farmers in a given state to maintain a steady barrage of correspondence to support a given agricultural proposal.

22. Which one of the above techniques is most likely to have an effect on a mid-western Congressman?

A. I
B. II
C. III
[✓ D.] IV

23. Which one of the above techniques is most likely to influence the decision of a judge?

[✓ A.] I
B. II
C. III
D. IV

24. Which one of the techniques is most likely to influence Congress as a whole?

A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

25. Which of the techniques--one or more--is likely to be useful in influencing the executive branch?

A. I & II [✓ B. II & III] C. III & IV D. IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S.S.R.

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the relationship of the Soviet citizen to his government is different than the relationship between the American citizen and his government.
2. this difference is found in both the degree and the kind of involvement between citizen and government.
3. unlike the American citizen who can determine the degree to which he becomes involved with government, the Soviet citizen's degree of involvement is determined by the government.
4. the U.S. citizen can freely perform many non-political activities, whereas the Soviet citizen must justify his activities by demonstrating their contribution to the government's goals.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Analysis of elements 4.10
3. Judgements in terms of external criteria 6.20

Materials:

Class handout

Procedures:

1. Begin class with a discussion of the assigned reading for the day. The teacher may use the three case studies as a starting point. What was Mr. Khrushchev's reaction to modern art? In Khrushchev's view, what is the purpose of art? (To help build Communism.) Why do you think that the Soviet leaders are against the twist? (It has no ties with the state or its goals.) Would you say that independent expression is a crime in Russia? How did the Soviet people react to the twist antidotes--the slag heap and the enthusiast's dance? Why were these expressive dances permitted by the Soviet leaders? What is Autostop? What does it show about the relations between the Russian people and their leaders?
2. Let's draw some conclusions from these stories. Is there any difference in the relationship between the Soviet citizen and his government and the relationship between an American citizen and his government? How would you express this difference? (American citizen can perform actions independent of his government, whereas the Soviet has little choice.) Would you say that the Soviet citizen is involved with his government in all his activities? Who determines the degree to which Soviet citizens become involved with their government? (The Soviet political leaders.) Who determines the degree to which American citizens become involved with their government? (American citizens.) Must all the actions of the Soviet citizen be justified to the state? Must all the actions of the American citizen be justified to the government?
3. Pass out the class handout that accompanies this lesson. It describes the way in which the Soviet leaders of today maintain

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3. (cont'd.) control without the use of the terror tactics of the Stalinist era. Give the students time to read the handout.
4. Have conditions in Russia improved since the days of Stalin? What are some of these improvements? (Better living conditions, more consumer goods, etc.) Does there seem to be more intellectual freedom in Russia today than there was under Stalin? This reading says that the Communist Party does not directly police the actions of the intellectuals. Does this mean that the Party is losing control? (No. The Party uses various professional groups to keep the intellectuals in line.) Would you say that Russia is still a totalitarian society? What evidence in the reading supports this?

Teacher's readings: Shulman, "Has the Soviet System Changed Since Stalin?" in THE U.S.S.R. AND COMMUNISM, pp. 176-182.
Johnson, Priscilla, "Soviet Citizens and Their Government," in COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 88-99.

Class Handout, Day 60

HAS THE SOVIET SYSTEM CHANGED SINCE STALIN? *

* From Marshall D. Shulman, "Since Stalin: Have Things Changed?" THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, March 19, 1961

Discussion of the differences apparent in Khrushchevian Soviet Union from that of Stalin. Easing up of role of political police and improvements in living and working conditions due to economic advances. More contact with the West. Sporadic evidence of reduced interference in artistic and intellectual matters. However the author emphasizes that this is not evidence of an evolution toward democracy as we know it - that the Soviet Union is still firmly totalitarian.

WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE TO SOVIET CITIZENS?

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. a citizen can act intelligently only on the basis of plentiful and accurate information
2. the sources of information in the USSR are controlled by the government and are attuned toward serving the interests of the state
3. the main functions of the Soviet press are to propagandize rather than inform and to indoctrinate rather than enlighten

Skill Objectives:
Analyses of relationships 4.20
Application 3.00

Procedures:

1. What did we find out earlier this year about the different meanings of the word "news" in the US and the USSR? (Reading #27 - in US, news encompasses all sorts of information on various subjects. In the SU, news is that which conforms to state ideology.) What does this tell us about the Soviet press? (That it is not free) What changes have been brought about in the Soviet press under Khrushchev that were not apparent under Stalin? Is the press still controlled in the USSR? (Yes: The only change has been in the method of control)

2. Let's examine the three cases introduced by our author to determine the method in which factual information is supplied Russians by their press.

   A. How was the Berlin Wall issue treated in the Soviet press? What basic Soviet claims were refuted by facts? (The claim that East Berliners wanted to stay in East Berlin etc) What facts were suppressed? What facts were presented?

   B. What basic ideological claims made by the Soviet state were refuted by the facts of the Chinese-Indian frontier clash? What was ommitted? What facts were presented?

   C. How did the Soviet press handle the Cuba story? What seeming inconsistencies in their stories were ignored by the Soviet press?

3. On the basis of these stories, what standard seems to govern the selection of facts to be printed in the Soviet press? (If facts can not fit the ideological pattern, they are omitted)

4. Our author says that another interesting thing about the Soviet press is its regimented unanimity. What does he mean?

5. Is there ever any criticism printed in the Soviet press? Why does the regime permit some criticism?

6. What are the main functions of the Soviet Press? (Propagandizing and indoctrination)

7. What problems face a Soviet citizen who is trying to arrive at rational conclusions about issues of public policies? Is his need for information the same as the need of the American citizen?

8. Can you see any differences between managed news and a controlled press? What real differences are there between the degree of control an American President can have over the American press and Soviet leaders have over the Soviet press? What vast differences exist in the relationship between the Soviet citizen and his press and the American citizen and his press? (Choice!)

Teacher's Reading:
Rieber and Nelson, THE USSR AND COMMUNISM, pp. 225-227

GAINING ACCESS TO THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the USSR encourages citizens to write their newspaper in order to act as a safety valve for tensions which may develop, and to focus attention on problems which need to be remedied.
2. such letters almost always focus on economic problems or attack individuals who seem to be contributing little to the welfare of all.
3. such letters never attack Communism as an ideology or criticize the highest leaders of the Party, at least at the time they are leaders.
4. some access to Government is provided the Soviet citizen through these letters.

Skill Objectives:

1. Comprehension 2.00
2. Interpretation 2.20

Procedures:

1. Does the Soviet citizen have any real access to government? Can membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provide access? To what degree? Do separate interest groups provide access?
2. Ask students what satisfaction a Soviet citizen expects to gain from writing a letter to his newspaper. Is this a way of gaining access to the system? Can one derive psychological satisfaction from stating grievances?
3. In what way do such letters confirm in the mind of the Soviet citizen that the Soviet state is after all democratic?
4. What seems to be the universal complaint in the USSR and the East European states as judged by these letters?
5. Why does the Soviet government seemingly encourage letters to newspapers?
6. What kind of restrictions would an American newspaper likely establish to limit the letters it publishes?

Teacher's reading: Mehlinger, COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, pp. 82-85.

THE ATTITUDE OF SOVIET CITIZENS TOWARD THEIR GOVERNMENT

Subject Objectives: To know that

1. the "average" Russian student finds much in the Soviet Union about which to complain.
2. these complaints center primarily around economic shortages and limitations on freedom of expression.
3. on the basic issues the Russian student is loyal to his country and is by no means bent on revolution.

Skill Objectives;
Production of a unique communication 5.10
Comprehension 2.00

Procedures:

1. Pass out the essay examination, and give the students 20 minutes to complete it.
2. What kinds of complaints do Soviet students have about their life?
3. On what issues are they satisfied with the USSR?
4. What characteristics and attitudes, according to the author, make up an average Russian student?
5. What possibilities do you detect for revolt by Russian students against their government?
6. What do you think about the validity of describing an "average" Russian? Do you think you could characterize an "average" American student?
7. The reading concerns a Russian student. Great Russians make up about 50% of the population of the USSR. Is there any evidence that a different attitude might have been expressed by non-Russian nationalities in the USSR; for example, Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Kirghis, etc?

Materials:
Essay examination

Teacher's Reading:
Rieber and Nelson, THE USSR AND COMMUNISm, pp. 227-230
Mehlinger, COMMUNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE; pp.104-111

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS
ESSAY EXAMINATION VIII

READINGS 49-63

This examination will last twenty minutes. Write one of the following two essays. Do not write both. Follow directions carefully. Spend about five minutes planning your essay before you begin to write. You may wish to make an outline on your examination paper before you begin to write.

1. "Any society which permits individuals to gain access to government is a society which is responsive to the needs of the people."

   Defend or refute the above statement. Support your general argument by specific evidence drawn from your readings.

2. "The political role of an individual in any society is determined by the accessability this individual has to the decision-making group in that society."

   Apply the above statement to Soviet and American citizens. In your answer contrast the relationships that exist between a Soviet citizen and his government and an American citizen and his government.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS **Final Examination**

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last thirty minutes. It consists of fifty questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	**Question Sheet**	**Answer Sheet**
	1. Chicago is a **A. state** **B. city** **C. country** **D. continent**	**1. A X C D**

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

Questions 1 to 6 refer to the following interest groups:

I. National Association of Manufacturers
II. American Bar Association
III. American Medical Association
IV. American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
V. American Audubon Society
VI. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

1. Of the groups listed above, which is regularly able to elect one of its own members to Congress?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. V D. VI

2. Of the groups listed above, which probably has the greatest influence with judges?
[✓ A. II] B. III C. IV D. V

3. Of the groups listed above, which two are most likely to oppose each other on certain issues that come before Congress?
A. I & II [✓ B. I & IV] C. II & V D. V & VI

4. Which two groups are most likely to support each other on most issues before Congress?
   A. I & IV B. III & V [✓ C.] IV & VI D. I & VI

5. Of the groups listed above, which is likely to have the greatest influence per size of membership?
   [✓ A.] I B. IV C. V D. VI

6. Of the groups listed above, which has the least political influence?
   A. I B. II [✓ C.] V D. VI

7. Of the following statements, which most describes the cause of political inactivity by many Americans?
   A. Many Americans believe politicians are only crooks.
   B. Many Americans are not properly qualified to be any more active in politics.
   C. Political parties are too selective in admitting new members.
   [✓ D.] Many Americans are unwilling to give either the time or the money which are demanded of greater participation.

Questions 8 to 11 refer to the table below.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF AMERICAN POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS
(in Percentages)

Highest Level Attained	Presidents, V. Presidents, Cabinet Members (1877-1934)	Sup. Court Justices (1897-1937)	U.S. Senators (1949-51)	U.S. Representatives (1941-43)	Population Over 25 yrs. (1940)
None	0	0	0	0	5
Grade School	11	0	3	0	54
High School	10	0	10	12	31
College	79	100	87	88	10
	100	100	100	100	100
(total numbers counted)	n=176	n=20	n=108	n=431	

8. The above table indicates that
   A. American political decision makers have attained a higher educational level than the general population.
   B. Supreme Court Justices have attained a higher level of education than other American political decision makers.
   C. U.S. Representatives during the period 1941-43 had, as a group, attained a higher level of education than U.S. Senators during the years 1949-51.
   [✓ D.] All of the above.

9. The number of Senators counted for the purpose of determining the educational level of American political decision makers was:
   A. 3   B. 10   C. 87   [✓ D. 108]

10. How many Supreme Court Justices counted between the years 1897-1937 graduated from college?
   A. 10   [✓ B. 20]   C. 60   D. 100

11. Judging from this table we can conclude:
   A. That educational level attained has no influence on determining a man's chances of becoming a political decision maker.
   B. That it is inconceivable that a President, Vice-President or Cabinet member of the United States should have had less than a high school education.
   C. That our decision makers are trained for their respective offices.
   [✓ D. None of the above.]

12. If you wish to identify the political elite in a community, which of the following techniques would most likely be successful?
   A. Make a list of those people most often mentioned in the society pages of the local newspaper.
   B. Obtain a directory of city officials.
   [✓ C. Ask local businessmen whom they believe to have the most influence in the community.]
   D. Get a list of people who are most active in church and charitable organizations.

13. Within the typical community, which of the following occupations would most likely be represented in the political elite of the community?
   [✓ A. businessmen]   C. teachers
   B. labor leaders   D. doctors

Questions 14 to 22 refer to the following countries:
   I. United States
   II. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
   III. Both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
   IV. Neither the United States nor the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Which of the above countries do you think the following leaders represent on the basis of their statements?

14. "Having been elected to this office despite the determined opposition of my political opponent, I now call on all

(14 cont.) citizens to unite together, forgetting our differences in order that we may advance the well-being of all."

[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

15. "I am proud and honored to have been chosen for this important position, and I vow I will work to the best of my ability."

A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

16. "Between elections it is important that our party leaders keep before the public what the principles and belief of our party are."

A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

17. "I have always preferred to hold a position in the party rather than in the government as I find it easier to get my programs adopted by being a leader of the party."

A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

18. "It doesn't matter if the public supports us or not. As we are the party in power, what can the public do?

A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

19. "The public must be aware of the problems our country faces and how our leaders intend to cope with these problems."

A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

20. "When we have decided the best plan to follow, we'll let you know so you can help us."

A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

21. "We must criticize ourselves, each other, and the problems we face. We must not, however, criticize our government or our way of life."

A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

22. "We must always criticize the actions of our leaders when the things they do seem to needlessly endanger us. Any topic is subject for criticism within the bounds of good taste."

[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

23. Which of the following is not a legitimate function of an interest group in working with Congress?
    - A. To provide Congressmen with the results of their research on a given topic before Congress.
    - B. To present the views of the group to Congressional committees.
    - [✓ C.] To reward with small gifts those Congressmen who voted as the group wished.
    - D. To prepare suggested drafts of legislation favorable to the group for the examination of Congressmen.

Items 24 to 27 refer to the following paragraph. You are to determine which of the answers (A, B, C, D) most correctly describes each item.

The United States is often described as a pluralistic society. This means that in our country there are many opportunities to join organizations and groups quite different from each other. In contrast to the pluralistic society of the United States, the Soviet Union is often described as a totalitarian state. In a totalitarian state, groups and organizations are permitted to exist so long as they contribute to the overall goals set up by the leaders. In the USSR these overall goals are established by the Communist Party.

I. (A) The statement is true and its truth is supported by information given in the above paragraph.
II. (B) The statement is true but its truth is not supported by information in the above paragraph.
III. (C) The statement is false and its falsity is supported by information given in the above paragraph.
IV. (D) The statement is false but its falsity is not supported by information given in the above paragraph.

24. In order to be elected an American politician must seek the support of different interest groups.
    A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

25. A Soviet citizen may not be a member simultaneously of different interest groups.
    A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

26. An American citizen may be a member simultaneously of a church, a lodge, a labor union, a bowling team and a political party.
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

27. If Nikita Khrushchev felt that the dances performed by the Bolshoi Ballet were capitalistic in nature, the ballet company would be forced to change its program.
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

28. In which of the following may an individual be asked to sacrifice his life for the good of society as a whole?
I. United States
II. U.S.S.R.
III. Primitive society

A. I B. II C. II, III [✓ D. I, II & III]

29. The major leaders in the Soviet Union all hold positions in:
A. the government and/or foreign service
B. army and/or foreign service
C. secret police and/or Communist party
[✓ D. government and/or Communist party]

30. Assume you have been asked to prepare a speech titled "The Roman Emperors as Leaders." Determine which of the following questions would be of least value to you in preparing your speech.
A. What formal and informal rules limited the actions of the Roman emperors?
B. How did the emperors gain and maintain support?
[✓ C. How did the Roman emperors make decisions?]
D. What personal characteristics and attributes were possessed by the Roman emperors?

31. Which of the following would be most difficult to prove?
A. Datkas' death for his tribe was considered a brave act by the value standards of Tlinquot culture.
B. Richard Nixon received 49% of the popular vote in the 1960 Presidential election.
[✓ C. Nikita Khrushchev will die a natural death.]
D. Karl Marx predicted the downfall of capitalism

32. Three of the following statements are facts, one is opinion. Choose the statement of opinion.
    A. Joseph Stalin died in 1953.
    B. The Communist Revolution in Russia in 1917 was led by Nikolai Lenin.
    C. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is made up of less than fifteen percent of the total Soviet population.
    [✓ D.] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has betrayed the ideals of Marx and its members have started to form a new class in Russia today.

Questions 33 and 34 refer to the following paragraph.

Shortly after Stalin's death in March, 1953, the leadership position in the Soviet Union was shared by three men; Malenkov, Beria and Molotov. Beria's disappearance in July, however, hinted at the rise of a new set of leaders. Among these men was Nikita Khrushchev. Before Khrushchev could attain ultimate power, however, he had to remove Malenkov, Molotov and Bulganin. This was accomplished in 1958.

33. Which of the following statements is implied by the above paragraph?
    A. That the Soviet Union can operate effectively only under a dictator.
    [✓ B.] That the Soviet Union has many trained leaders capable of assuming control.
    C. That Khrushchev always had the support of Malenkov and Molotov.
    D. That the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has difficulty finding a capable leader.

34. Which of the following statements is not implied by the above paragraph?
    A. There appears to be no formal rule of succession in the Soviet Union.
    B. Occupying the top leadership position in the Soviet Union requires the elimination of competitors.
    C. Khrushchev skillfully intrigued to gain power.
    [✓ D.] Khrushchev was the best possible successor to Stalin's position.

35. The "Case of the Bothersome Bees" and the "Beloit Bus Crisis" took place in the same community. In the one case, the city council took action; in the other, it refused to act. What factor seemed to account for the favorable response on the part of the council in the one case?

A. Businessmen were involved
B. There were more citizens affected
C. The problem seemed to be more serious
[✓ D. All of the above]

36. The term which best describes that group of people within a community which has the power to make decisions for the community as a whole is

A. the exploiting class [✓ C. the power elite]
B. the upper class D. the social elite

37. Writing letters to Congressmen to influence their action appears to be:

A. totally ineffective
B. effective only if you are a member of a powerful interest group
[✓ C. effective under certain conditions]
D. effective if it consists of a vast quantity of form letters

38. The best way for a citizen to have an impact upon an executive bureau is by:

A. writing a logical, thoughtful letter
B. working through his political party
[✓ C. working through a pressure group]
D. appealing directly for an interview

Questions 39 to 43 refer to the following categories:

I. American political system III. Primitive political systems
II. Soviet political system IV. All of the above

39. In which of the above situations would you expect to be most specialized?

A. I [✓ B. I & II] C. III D. IV

40. In which of the above situations is the separation between legislative, administrative and judicial functions likely to be indistinct so that leaders may regularly perform two or all of these functions?
A. I   B. II   [✓ C. III]   D. IV

41. In which of the above situations is the style and technique of leadership likely to be related to the customs and mores of the society.
A. I   B. I & II   C. III   [✓ D. IV]

42. In which of the above situations will the leader be unable to maintain his leadership without the support of his followers?
A. I & II   B. II   C. III   [✓ D. IV]

43. In which of the above situations will one most likely find those for whom politics is a full-time profession?
A. I   B. II   [✓ C. I & II]   D. IV

Questions 44 to 46 are based on the following sources of political information available to citizens:

I. mass media
II. talking with other people
III. expert opinion and knowledge
IV. direct experience

44. Which source has the greatest effect in terms of stimulating political activity?
A. I   B. II   C. III   [✓ D. IV]

45. Which source is used by the fewest people?
A. I   B. II   [✓ C. III]   D. IV

46. Which source is most likely to be subject to monopoly control?
[✓ A. I]   B. II   C. III   D. IV

Questions 47 to 50 are all related to each other.

47. Congressman Smith, a member of the House of Representatives, recently prepared a piece of legislation which he hoped to have enacted into law. After the bill was introduced to the House, it was sent to:

A. the Senate
[✓ B.] the appropriate House committee
C. the Rules Committee
D. a conference committee

48. Mr. Smith felt confident that his bill would be passed, but he feared that it might be vetoed. To guard against this, he went for a personal talk to the office of:

A. the Chief Justice of the U.S.
B. the Speaker of the House
[✓ C.] the President of the United States
D. the Secretary of State

49. Unable to get his bill out of the Rules Committee, Congressman Smith resorted to a:

[✓ A.] Discharge petition C. Pocket veto
B. Filibuster D. Pigeon hole

50. The bill finally came to the floor of the House, was passed, and sent to the Senate. But all Smith's work proved to be in vain when a coalition of senators who opposed Smith's bill decided to hold the floor indefinitely to keep the bill from coming to a vote. Smith's bill was killed by a:

A. Discharge petition C. Pocket veto
[✓ B.] Filibuster D. Pigeon hole